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NEAR EAST/SOUTH ASIA REPORT

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PRIME MINISTER DISCUSSES DOMESTIC POLITICAL ISSUES

Cairo AL-MUSAWWAR in Arabic No 3080, 21 Oct 83 pp 14-19, 64-66

[Interview with Prime Minister Fu'ad Muhyi al-Din by Makram Muhammad Ahmad:
"Voter Turnout for Shura Council Elections Was Satisfactory, but We Are Reviewing
Reasons for Low Voter Turnout in Some Governorates"]

[Text] The opposition had an opportunity to win in some pre-cincts if it had not boycotted the election.
Why don't we accelerate the establishment of disparate factions and tendencies within the National Party?
We support gradual change, but making changes on impulse is not being contemplated.
We are entreating the opposition to take part in the elections for the People's Assembly.
I am asking those who are talking about restrictions on the establishment of new parties, "What parties in the process of being organized have submitted applications for organization and been turned down?"
Young people under 35 years old make up 40 percent of the National Party's lists [of candidates] for the people's councils.
Total neutrality in the election is an indication of the government's integrity; we insist on that neutrality.
We will be able to bring about a reasonable measure of change among the members of the People's Assembly.
Forty-one thousand candidates to people's councils win elections by acclamation.

The interview with Dr Fu'ad Muhyi al-Din, the prime minister and secretary general of the National Party lasted 2 hours.

It began at 10 p.m. and ended at midnight.

The interview began with a question that AL-MUSAWWAR's [correspondent] asked. He asked the prime minister why voter turnout for the recent Shura Council elections was low in some city precincts and administrative districts. The interview then went on to cover numerous issues.

The interview went on to cover issues pertaining to the facts and problems of the

National Party; the present conduct of opposition parties; the absolute list; the proportional list; the authorities of the Shura Council and the obscurity of its role; and the next elections for the People's Assembly. [The interview dealt with the reasons] why the National Party wins by acclamation in elections for the people's councils; why factions are not set up within the National Party to help enliven dialogue within the party; why the party doesn't hold its members accountable; and how more effectiveness and action can be guaranteed for such a large and broad party.

The interview was candid and thought-provoking. It was an in-depth discussion of the problems of democracy as these are actually experienced in Egypt.

[Question] Mr Prime Minister, appraisals of the results of the recent mid-term elections for the Shura Council may vary, but what has attracted attention was the obvious low voter turnout in some city precincts and administrative districts. It is true that on the whole voter turnout was higher in rural areas than it was in cities and that it was that which enabled the party to get an overall country-wide voter turnout of 51 percent, but this seemed to us rather strange for a party that has become accustomed to a 99.5 percent turnout.

Can the secretary general of the National Party describe for us in his own words what happened and the reasons for that sharp decline in voter turnout, particularly in some city precincts and administrative districts?

[Answer] First of all, I do not wish to associate voter turnout in the cities with voter turnout in rural areas. Each situation has its own reasons. What concerns me primarily is to assure you that the National Party is proud of these free and honest elections. It is also proud of the overall turnout of 51.7 percent, which I consider quite satisfactory when compared to the actual voter turnout figures that we have been accustomed to in all previous elections, beginning with the 1923 elections and until now.

Naturally, we cannot ignore the consequences that may result from the absence of competition which helps attract voters to an election contest. But let us look at the difference between voter turnout for the Shura Council elections and for the last elections for the People's Assembly in 1979. Voter turnout for those elections was 75 percent. But let us also look at the difference between the two election contests. In 1979 the elections were held on the basis of individual precincts each of which had at least 10 candidates running for office. In addition, there were the candidates of opposition parties and there were independent candidates whose number in each precinct was seven or eight. Undoubtedly each one of those candidates had a small or a large number of supporters among the voters who went to the polls, and that had an effect on total voter turnout, raising it to 75 percent. When we consider the circumstances under which the recent elections for the Shura Council were held, we can say that the fact that the National Party got a voter turnout that exceeded 51 percent, despite the absence of competition, is, in the final analysis quite satisfactory.

Of course there is the problem of the silent majority, a problem that all democracies abroad are afflicted with. The silent majority is this mass of humanity which prefers not to interact with the political process even though it has political opinions and ideas of substance. Democracies all over the world have been trying to lure this silent majority into the democratic process to have them

contribute their opinion in determining the destiny of their country. This is a general problem, and we have it in Egypt.

Nevertheless, in a number of recent elections for the People's Assembly it was enough for a candidate to get only 4,000 votes to win a seat [representing] a precinct where the number of registered voters was 50,000. This is because although the law stipulated that a candidate who runs unopposed in a precinct get 20 percent of the vote, that condition does not apply if he gets more votes than his competition.

This situation recurred in Cairo in more than one election. It occurred not only in the 1979 election but also in the 1976 election, in the 1971 election and in elections before that.

The same phenomenon occurred in Cairo precincts even in the elections that took place before 1952, before the Revolution.

Thus, the decline in voter turnout in cities and in the capitals [of governorates] is not unusual. Quite the contrary, the fact that 51.7 percent of all voters did turn out to vote is an honest expression of the neutrality and integrity of the administration. It is a manifestation of a reasonable and a normal voter presence.

The fact that voter turnout at some polling stations was very low compared with turnout at other polling stations is irrelevant, and the fact that voter turnout in some governorates was less than it was in others is also irrelevant.

After reviewing the final reports it is my judgment that a low voter turnout was obvious in only four or five governorates. I believe that the low voter turnout in those governorates requires some consideration so we can find out whether the reasons for it were tactical and had to do with the people's ability to travel within the governorate on election day or whether the matter was due to a flaw in the performance of the National Party.

[Question] I believe that Port Said, Damietta and al-Gharbiyah are among these five governorates with a low voter turnout. Was voter turnout in these governorates obviously lower than it was in other governorates?

[Answer] Yes, to a certain extent.

[Question] In this case, can't you discuss how much the negligence of some leaders of the National Party [contributed to the low voter turnout]?

[Answer] No, I can't. I would not blame leaders of the National Party for negligence. Party leaders played an active part in numerous conferences that were held prior to the Shura Council elections. We held at least 8 or 10 conferences. In Alexandria voter turnout was reasonable; it was 30 percent. This is normal when we take into account that it is an urban city.

At any rate, I do not believe that the view which measures voter turnout in relation to the total number of registered voters is a just one. One doesn't have to correlate voter turnout with the total number of registered voters to say that

voter turnout declined or rose. One is supposed to compare voter turnout in previous elections and to know the percentage of that turnout and then one can say whether voter turnout was high or low.

And we are not to generalize when a phenomenon is found in four or five governorates.

I forgot to tell you that election day, the 4th of October, was the last day to file applications for becoming a candidate for membership to local councils. Perhaps party leaders in these governorates were preoccupied with the matter of filing applications in an effort to complete the papers of 1-2, 3, 4 candidates. Perhaps the fact that some leaders in these governorates were preoccupied with this task did not enable them to rally a large number of voters.

Consequently, I think that the low voter turnout in some governorates ought not to be the only indicator of whether or not the party has been active.

(Question) If the low voter turnout was not due to the negligence of party leaders, then it has to be due to the negligence of the candidates themselves and to the fact that they relied on being the only candidates on the scene.

(Answer) I would not want to say that a low voter turnout is that accurate and significant a gauge that we would want to deduce that from it. This is an important point. It is also undoubtedly one of the signs or a sign of some significance. A high voter turnout is undoubtedly important, but as I said a low voter turnout in some governorates ought not to be considered the only indicator of whether or not the party has been active.

(Question) The opposition is saying that the low voter turnout was caused by its boycott of the elections. Do you agree?

(Answer) In response to your question I wonder about this: if the National Party had 51 percent of the vote and the opposition had the rest, that is, 49 percent, why didn't the opposition run in the campaign? Members of the opposition could have won a number of seats that is close to the number of seats won by the National Party!

(Question) If this has nothing to do with the negligence of the party or the opposition's boycott of the elections, perhaps then the problem is attributable to the Egyptians themselves who are still afflicted with a kind of indifference.

(Answer) I do not want to say that Egyptians are indifferent because some of them did not vote in some precincts in the Shura Council elections. In fact, we have not yet agreed that the total voter turnout for the Shura Council elections was low. I think that the voter turnout was good and very reasonable in relation to any general election, even in relation to the elections for the People's Assembly which are usually accompanied by more enthusiasm because the role of the People's Assembly is clearer in people's minds than that of the Shura Council. People have understood for a long time what the People's Assembly is all about, but the Shura Council is still a new institution whose role some people have not yet clearly understood.

In fact, I can tell you that this is the first time in this administration we

have this voter turnout for Shura Council elections, if we compare voter turnout this time to the voter turnout at previous elections for the same council.

Question. Mr Prime Minister, regardless of the differences that exist about the meaning of the voter turnout, it seems to me that Egypt has really gained a great deal from these elections. The first of these gains is the credibility the regime has gained with the Egyptian people. We have always praised the 1976 elections as quite extraordinary because the administration did not interfere in them. And now the government has taken a courageous stance and announced for the first time to the people the real figures for the voter turnout.

Answer. A neutral person can only thank the government for its determination that the administration remain neutral in the election process.

Question. Ever since the government took office and ever since I was honored by being given the responsibility of prime minister, by-elections were held in exactly 12 precincts to fill seats that had become vacant in the People's Assembly. Our position in all these elections was that the administration was not to interfere and that the integrity of the election process was to be preserved. This is also what happened in the recent Shura Council elections. This will continue to be our position in any future elections.

Question. What remains are the elections for the people's councils. It is expected that the candidates on the National Party's lists will win by acclamation because the condition that they get a certain percentage of the vote is not required to win. And here a victory by acclamation would be final except in some Cairo precincts. I believe there are three or four precincts where al-Ummah Party has submitted lists of its candidates.

Answer. I can also assure you that this is our position with regard to the next elections for the People's Assembly. This is normal because a voter's right to the integrity of his vote is like his right to exist, to breathe and to protect the borders of the country. All these are fundamental rights that must not be infringed upon. However, there are still those who continue to be skeptical on the pretext of seeking guarantees, as though it were the government that was hesitating, even though we were the ones proclaiming the slogan of integrity.

Question. Mr secretary general, don't you think that what happened in the Shura Council elections, regarding the fact that there was no competition for the National Party, constituted an adequate judgment on the experiment of absolute lists, particularly since it was thought from the outset that this was merely an experiment and not a final opinion that was carved in concrete? The president said something similar to that, and you too affirmed that opinion when you declared that the National Party was not adopting the absolute list irrevocably. Don't you believe that the experiment with the Shura Council was enough to make us reconsider the system of elections by absolute lists?

Answer. It may be premature to be thinking now about abolishing the absolute lists. However, the matter requires that the entire experiment be reconsidered. I believe it is essential that a sufficient period of time elapse [to allow us] to judge those men who were elected in an election based on absolute lists. [We have to have time to assess] the effect of that on the method of operations and

the performance of the Shura Council, and we have to have time to assess the council's effect on Egyptian life. This is the experiment that we must consider and not just the election process.

Elections by absolute list got us 51 percent of the vote in the country. The opposition parties should have taken the opportunity. If they had had some measure of backing or popularity, they shouldn't have stayed away from the elections.

The opposition could have won [the right to] represent voters in three or four governorates, but it miscalculated and did not run in the elections.

For example, if the opposition had won one vote in any of the governorates, that means that it would have won 10 seats [in the Shura Council]. This is according to the precinct divisions for the Shura Council. The opposition thus had an unusual opportunity which it could have put to use, but it didn't.

I would like to say that if I had some governorates where voter turnout was 80, 77, 66 and 65 percent, that turnout means that the public is willing to participate in an election. But if I have only three or four governorates with a low voter turnout such as that we discussed, then the results we are facing are by all standards satisfactory.

If the party achieved a voter turnout that is appropriate in our estimate in 22 governorates, then [a low voter turnout] in three governorates becomes a modest and an easy problem.

This then is not the party's primary problem. The party's problem is much larger than this. The problem we are facing is that of creating successive generations of staffers. Ever since last year active training for our staff was begun at the Center for National Studies and at the Institute for Young Leaders. Political training was attended by 4,000 new leaders, and this will enable the party to have a staff of leaders on all levels who are careful and trained. The problem we are also facing is that of determining the frame of thought for a broad, popular party that includes workers, employers, employees and landowners. We are facing the problem of] how we can keep all those people within a framework of ideas that is clear and specific. I believe that we were able to do that successfully, even though the National Party, as I said, is a broad, popular party that would be difficult to place in a rigid framework of ideas. A flexible framework of ideas was the solution that enabled the party, despite its large size and the diversity of its members, to act, to be effective and to streamline its performance.

I've always said that Egypt has always needed a large party that would manifest the national consensus in the country. Our party is not a new party as some people think it is. Although it's been around for 4 or 5 years, its origins go back to 1952. We are the children of 23 July. Some people are competing with us for that designation, but we feel that we are a party that started on its course on 23 July 1952. We corrected our course on 15 May 1971. Our party reflects the course of the Revolution: its history, its decades, its sequence, its positive attributes, its negative attributes, its hits and its misses. A party that has that history, which is not a brief one, and all these experiences as well is undoubtedly a party that everyone is entitled to expect a great deal from. Everyone is entitled to expect from that party more than it has accomplished. But it is not easy in all cases to set such a large party in motion, [especially] when some people expect the party to move at a fast pace.

The party's members, and that figure is now almost 1.2 million members, make the party a large party. However, that large membership makes it more difficult for the party to act even though much is expected from it. Some time is needed before what is hoped for from the party is attained and is attained fully.

We are now in the stage of making a choice and bringing together young and new forces. For example, 40 percent of the candidates for local councils are young people under 35.

This is a broad hope that is being achieved for the first time. It was hoped that young people would occupy such a large percentage of seats in the people's councils.

[Question] Mr Secretary General, won't it be a surprise that 41,600 members of local people's councils win in the elections by acclamation?

[Answer] I would like to say that these are our leaders. I don't want to boast about the fact that we proffered in the elections for local councils the actual leaders in Egypt, and I don't want to say that it would be difficult to find others. If we were looking for leadership figures, I would say quite confidently that those who were on the lists of the National Party can be Egypt's leaders in our governorates, in our rural areas and in our villages. Anyone who does not have a place on our local councils does have a place in the party organization and in the party's grassroots committees. This is what I feel [we are doing]. We are thus gathering together all the leaders who can make contributions.

[Question] Mr Secretary General, it's being said that you were not enthusiastic about designating a certain percentage [of slots] for young people on the party's lists of candidates either for the Shura Council elections or for the elections for local councils. Now we are surprised [to find out] that 30 percent of the members of local councils are young people.

[Answer] I was not enthusiastic about [that idea] because I wanted young people to have a greater opportunity than that afforded them by the quota that could be set [for them]. We were being asked to give young people 25 percent of the seats, as was the case with the Misr Party. However, we were able to induce large numbers of young people to run in the elections for people's councils in cities, administrative districts and governorates; they now hold more than 30 percent of the seats. The faith we all have in young people must be strengthened, and the president's instructions in that regard are plain and forceful. You may have noticed that the Youth Conference, which was held a few months ago, was one of the largest to be held. We have in the party's young people a strong faction; we have people with new, vibrant blood whose voices are heard, whose impact is felt and whose effect is concrete. This is because young people have ideas to contribute; they have a creative capacity to work and a passionate desire to participate. As long as the cycle has begun, it will continue to grow afterwards, and it will include other sectors of young people.

[Question] Mr Secretary General, members of the People's Assembly and secretaries of the governorates had the final say-so in selecting the members of local councils. Were the choices of those people reviewed [to ensure] that friendships and partisan relations did not influence the choices that were made?

[Answer] Reviews were carried out as much as that was possible. It would be difficult to say that everything was fully reviewed, but as many reviews as possible were made.

To establish a party one must ultimately have representatives in each governorate. They are the ones who rally supporters and members for the party. They are the ones who make the choices. If I do not trust the representatives of the party in the governorates, whom then would I trust? It is inevitable that one would depend on one's representatives to build up the party in each governorate. This happens in all the parties in the world because one cannot do this from a central location. If I wanted to form a unit of the party in Aswan, to whom would I entrust that task? It is only natural that I would entrust it to the representatives of the party there. Sometimes there is a margin of error in the choice that is made, but this is something we can correct by experience and by continuously evaluating the activities of the party and the effectiveness of its members.

[Question] Mr Secretary General, in the light of the Shura Council experiment, has a new view been formed that would enable the council to play a more effective role [in Egypt's affairs]? Council members are complaining about the fact that their role is merely an advisory one and that their opinions are not binding on anyone. Also the relationship between the Shura Council and the executive authority is not clearly defined.

The need for a Shura Council has emerged from the need for a council that would incorporate the opinions of all Egyptians regardless of their disparate affiliations.

[Answer] If the authorities of the Shura Council are increased, it would have to become a council of elders; it would become a second legislative council besides the People's Assembly. At the present time this is not a moot question. Under present conditions and under the constitutional provisions that regulate its operations the Shura Council is a council of opinions, a council of experience and a council of studies. It considers new and important proposed laws that complement the constitution. The council considers the plan and other matters that the constitution has provided for it in this regard. There is no doubt that the council's experience in the past 3 years has been a plus; it has contributed opinions and procedures. There was an excellent group of men of ideas in the council who can make a contribution and who did contribute. It may be that in the next stage, in the next 3 years, the council's contribution will be more broadly felt. [At any rate], we are still in the course of studying [this experiment].

[Question] How?

[Answer] The ability of council members to give the government models and procedures for solving problems scientifically and realistically will be increased. This will not be an academic approach, even though an academic approach may be dominant in some private councils and organizations. The fact is that the Shura Council tried to break out of an academic framework into the world of reality and practicality because many members of the council had held public positions in their careers and had had a sense of real life. They had also had a sense of Egypt's economic, administrative and financial circumstances. They knew what was and was not feasible.

In another course during the next stage of the Shura Council, that council will contribute even more.

[Question] Is the government benefiting from these numerous reports which the council issued about many of Egypt's vital problems?

[Answer] Undoubtedly, undoubtedly.

[Question] But council members are complaining about the fact that no one is interested in their reports.

[Answer] All their reports are perused by ministers. Many ministers make a point of attending the sessions of the council, and they participate in the dialogue and the debate to benefit from these sessions.

[Question] Mr Secretary General, when the administration itself turned over to the public prosecutor's office some of the transgressions [that occurred] in the recent election, wasn't that sternness on the part of the administration toward the party in whose name it governs?

[Answer] What happened were the transgressions of individuals. If the administration doesn't turn over those individuals to the public prosecutor's office, who then would do that? This is what being neutral means. The administration is part of the government; security is part of the administration; and this is the government's policy.

The significance of what happened is that the government's policy of neutrality and integrity has reached the point that if any citizen for any reason whatsoever were to try to deviate from this policy, measures will definitely be taken against him. The government will not be quiet about such matters.

In the final analysis, this is what is normal, and this is what everyone ought to abide by.

[Question] Mr Secretary General, allow me to shift from the subject of the absolute list to that of the proportional list. Do you expect the opposition to pursue the same course in the elections for the People's Assembly it pursued in the Shura Council elections? Members of the opposition are now trying to form a unified front. Some of them are promoting the idea of not taking part in the elections for the People's Assembly so as to embarrass the ruling party.

[Answer] What can I say in response to that other than that we are going ahead with our efforts to serve Egypt in accordance with the provisions of the constitution and the law? We do not violate the constitution or the law. We urgently plead with the opposition that it not take this position. We have never violated the law in any of our applications. If we did violate the law, we ask the opposition to tell us where and how so we can obey the law and carry out its provisions.

Elections for the People's Assembly will be carried out on schedule, and we hope that all parties of the opposition without exception will take part in them. In fact, we would welcome the participation of the opposition, but the fact that it

will not participate will not keep us from holding the elections on schedule even if our party were the only party running in the election. But this is not at all what we would hope for. We are looking forward to their participation.

[Question] You said, Mr Secretary, at the beginning of the interview that the National Party was an old party that came into being on 23 July [1952] and that looking at it otherwise would be a short-sighted view of the party. You said that the party was a blend of the 23 July and the 15 May revolutions; you said it was a combination of the experiences they had gleaned. We are then in front of an old party. Don't you think that the opposition needs a greater measure of care since it is a new-born entity, one that has come after 30 years of a one-party government?

There is one opinion which states that the National Party should have looked after the fledgling opposition as the state looked after the rights of farmers and workers [by granting them] 50 percent [of the seats] to ensure that they are represented.

In keeping with this opinion, getting eight percent [of the vote] may be a condition that new opposition parties would find difficult to achieve despite their protestations [to the contrary].

[Answer] I do not think that eight percent is high at all. I do not think that it is an obstacle to any party that has a limited measure of popularity. It means that out of every 100 votes, one has to get only 8 votes. This is an extremely modest figure.

[Question] What would happen if these parties were to run in an election and not get eight percent of the vote?

[Answer] [Please] let me finish. Getting eight percent of the vote is not such a major obstacle. If one of the five opposition parties were to get more than eight percent of the vote, there would be nothing strange about that. This is something that must happen and may happen, and that is not a problem. In fact I am saying that one or two parties can get that ratio of the vote. If none of the other opposition parties can get that ratio, then these parties have to go on playing their part through other legal channels.

Partisan activity is not restricted to the People's Assembly. There is freedom of speech and the freedom to publish newspapers. Partisan activity exists not only in parliament or through the People's Assembly. There are numerous means through which [partisan activity can be pursued], and all of them are constitutional and sound. At the same time all of them are desirable. In fact a party can exercise more influence on public opinion through its press, its activities and its meetings than a party that has members in the People's Assembly but no influence on public opinion.

I would not make light of the foremost constitutional institution in the country nor would I belittle it, but I would say that the fact that a party is not represented in the People's Assembly is not an indication of that party's lack of activity.

Partisan activity is varied: government may be criticized in the press; the

features of the road [that is being followed] may be clarified; and a careful dialogue about the problems of society may be carried out. Partisan activity does not only involve submitting a question to the People's Assembly or submitting a request for information, particularly if the number of members of opposition parties is small in relation to the vast majority. For ultimately, it is the opinion of the majority that will prevail in every case. This ought not to be the view. What matters, however, is that the opposition play its part toward the citizens. If it plays that part successfully, it will certainly increase its own support among the public.

[Question] If the National Party got 51 percent of the vote, then the opposition's fear that [its candidates] might not get 8 percent of the vote is normal.

[Answer] Why don't they look at the matter from the other side? If the National Party got 51 percent of the vote, they can, as I said, get the remaining 49 percent.

[Question] When we adopted the system of proportional lists, one of the first arguments that was used to justify their use was that many votes were wasted in the ordinary elections without providing proportionate representation. It was argued that the proportional list would provide a greater opportunity for a varied representation. However, the eight percent condition may prevent the achievement of that goal.

[Answer] The idea behind having a proportional list is not to break up the vote in such a way as to make the formation of a strong opposition with clout unlikely. Breaking up the vote would create a state of fragmentation in the legislative assembly. This means that one party would have one seat, and another party would have two or three seats and so on.

Do you know that if a party were to win 10 percent of the vote nationwide, that means that it will win 40 seats in parliament? If a party wins 12 percent of the vote, that means it will win 50 seats out of 460. This is a high ratio and would constitute a major force within the assembly.

This is the advantage of proportional representation which some people are asking us today to abolish. How can we abolish it? It is a step forward!

[Question] The other side of this coin is that if the party does not get eight percent of the vote, it gets no seats, and we would have wasted seven percent of the vote without proper representation.

[Answer] This ratio is a fundamental [requirement to assure] the earnestness of the party and its ability to get votes.

You are telling me that the National Party is an old party that should have taken into account the conditions of the fledgling opposition. But some of these opposition parties also claim that they were not born yesterday. They claim that the principles of their thought and their organization have a long history.

Such parties ought to have their backing and their ideas. They have an opportunity to get the minimum [percentage] that is required.

[Question] Mr Secretary General, you know that the Labor Party, which won 15 percent of the vote in the latest elections, could not have won it without votes had not the National Party conceded some preferences to it and had not the regime given it support for the purpose of settling up an opposition. Is it not the case that the party an entity that has reached the age of majority and that if no longer has a guardian, it may be difficult for it to win the required percentage of the vote. We are facing a new situation here: if none of the opposition parties win any seats in parliament, what would be the position of the National Party on this matter?

[Answer] I am not one of those who support the notion of creating an opposition.

[Question] But it is possible, is it not, that some of these parties will succeed in getting eight percent of the vote?

[Answer] I would support the notion of setting down some democratic rules for a sound democracy. In the light of these rules each party would exercise its activities under the law. If I were to begin creating an opposition or setting up a sphere that was beyond the law for the purpose of generating alternatives, looking after them or in anticipation of this or the other "appeals" -- if we were to start granting privileges here and there -- the earnestness of the process would be lost. It is essential that the democratic process be an earnest one that serves Egypt in the context of respect for the law and concern for attention and for adherence to the rules that are observed in political activities.

[Question] We are noticing today that opposition parties are trying to increase the tension between them and the ruling party. Aren't the elections by absolute lists one of the reasons for that tension?

[Answer] We've had this tension some time before the recent supra-parliamentary elections. Opposition parties have been creating it ever since they began their activity and ever since they resumed publication of their newspapers which had been banned. Their meetings took place in a variety of forms. As you know the last meeting which they held to form a front to oppose the National Party was not their first meeting. The demands and statements they made recently were not the first demands or statements they made, nor do I think there is any new tension. They have done nothing from the beginning but escalate tension, confront, challenge, attack, and occasionally slander. I think that anyone who reads opposition newspapers senses that spirit in what is written in those newspapers. Some people are falsely attacked and these attacks are carried too far beyond what is permissible in the language of dialogue in political activity. We are calling for earnestness; we are calling for an earnestness of purpose so that truth can be achieved and the people served.

[Question] How can the National Party, which is the largest party on the scene, take part in reducing this tension?

[Answer] We don't have to do anything in this regard or take any step other than that which was set by the law or provided for in the constitution. The dialogue goes on in the sense that we are responding to some of the issues that are raised. We have some meetings with opposition leaders, and these meetings are

calm and constructive. Then 2 or 3 days later their newspapers come out with extremely provocative headlines that have nothing to do with the truth. I don't understand why. At any rate, the dialogue with some opposition leaders is continuing, particularly on basic matters and not on secondary subjects. After that, however, we find the opposition [pursuing] the same course and [engaging in] the same writing and the same provocation.

[Question] Mr Prime Minister, how do you explain the attempts of opposition parties to form a front to oppose the ruling party?

[Answer] This attempt is the result of the fact that each party feels that it can do nothing by itself. Even if the opposition parties were to get together as they did recently, we would find them raising questions that have been settled and making demands that they have spoken of once or twice before. Every demand they made was settled with an opinion. There is nothing new in their demands. We've spoken repeatedly about the election system and the Emergency Law and we've said why we are keeping it. We are keeping the Emergency Law on the books to confront the violence that is attempted by terrorist groups. The Emergency Law applies only in this area. The past 2 years proved that we did not use the Emergency Law except in this area. What can we say after that? Do we allow parties to be organized freely without any controls? These are questions which we have talked about, and there is nothing new in them.

[Question] Hasn't the time come for elections to be held within the National Party so that its leaders would be more representative of its members?

[Answer] There is no doubt that using elections to organize the various levels of the party is desirable at a later stage. And when will that be? Although we have not yet set any dates for that, all the feelings of apprehension or the reservations that are entertained about this decision are attributable to worry over the party and fear of its fragmentation. You know the nature of sensitive issues particularly in rural areas. There are family ties and tribal ties for which special considerations and special arrangements must be made so that the unity of the party as well as its orderly, common image can be preserved as much as possible. I am concerned primarily, as I mentioned previously, with our commitment to ideas and to the unity of our movement. These are not easy questions: bringing together these thousands into one course and one line is not an easy battle. The aspect of ideas begins as an aspect of organization so that the ideas of the party can be combined in one framework of ideas and the party can have one color. The organizational period comes after that; in that period the line of thought must form a close tie that would assure me that regardless of the difficulties in the organizational structure in the face of the elections process, the unity of all the party will not be affected.

[Question] Doesn't making the party monochromatic preclude debate within the party?

[Answer] The debate and the dialogue within the National Party are extensive. No one can imagine at all that there would be no debate and no dialogue within a broad, popular party like the National Democratic Party. Anyone who thinks that is making a big mistake. One does not have to say, "Take these issues and discuss them!" Debate is normal, and dialogue exists because the makeup of the party requires it. The normal makeup of the party makes debate inevitable because there

are various interests within the party. As long as these interests exist, the debate will continue. The dynamic quality of debate imposes itself on the party because there are in the party at the same time those who own plants and those who work in them; landowners and tenants; and owners of real estate and tenants who are benefiting from this real estate. The dialogue then is ongoing; it exists and it is periodic. It is up to the secretariat general of the party to make this dialogue calm and constructive.

Allow me to say that we can make this an ongoing dialogue; we can make it go on non-stop; and we can ensure that it be peaceful and calm.

[Question] Mr Secretary General, don't you think that a large party like the National Party needs distinct factions, in the sense that the party has to have distinct factions to preserve its vitality?

[Answer] It is not essential for me to assist intentionally and deliberately in the task of forming these tendencies or factions. It is not in my interests to have these factions created deliberately because the truth is that disparate ideas regardless of their origin converge into tendencies that are closely related. This convergence is desirable so that the relationship between these factions can be tightened and an end put to all these differences for the sake of a more general and a more comprehensive interest in the organization as a whole. But for me to nurture and foster the growth of disparate tendencies deliberately would be a very serious matter for a broad party. This is in fact a very broad party because of the makeup it has had ever since it was formed and because of its history.

[Question] But how can we make up for the idea of factions in order to ensure that dialogue within the party remain vital?

[Answer] With the activities of the secretariat general and with the activities of the party's careful leaders on all levels. All those have to continue working to unify the various trends and interests that may exist within the party.

This is their basic role. If we as leaders of the party were to take one of these factions and to show it preference, we would isolate it and eventually, we would not find a place for it within the party. Therefore, we have to continue the effort to make everyone feel that we are trying to bring everyone together under one framework. This is our fundamental role, and this is our movement which is continuing effectively, with conviction and capability. Otherwise, we will fail in our efforts to integrate this large party.

[Question] It is natural that it would be the duty of such a large party to protect its power to win votes and to protect its leaders, who have their social relations in rural areas, so as to guarantee votes. But how can the party rejuvenate itself if its primary fear is to hold on to the old faces to guarantee the vote?

[Answer] Change is imminent and desirable, but it has to be normal and gradual. Change must not be sudden, and that is the difference. Change that would make the party stronger, better and more effective is desirable provided that we take into consideration the Egyptian environment, Egyptian thought and Egyptian

conditions. If one ignores these conditions and this environment, one would have strayed from the community and the climate in which one is living. One would have strayed away from the air we breathe. Nevertheless, we must all bear in mind that there is a future, a past and a present. One wants for the future things and thoughts other than those one had in the past. What would be the use of taking people by surprise and presenting them with new ideas they cannot understand? We do not support changes that are made on impulse; the change we support is gradual.

Question. Mr Secretary General, changes were nevertheless made in the lists of the people's councils. This change covered 40 percent of the seats that are now held by young people. How much change do you expect in the People's Assembly?

Answer. We have not yet opened the file on the People's Assembly which, fortunately, has about 65 new additional seats because of the new precinct divisions. This is an opportunity to introduce new members into the assembly. That is, there will be 65 new members among the assembly's 460 members.

I also believe that there will be limited changes among the old members of the assembly.

Thus, the 20 percent change we have been hoping for would have occurred because of the existence of a new opportunity for new representatives and because there would be a smaller percentage of change among the old faces.

Question. Based on the party's present experience, who are the most prominent people whose services to the party the party is proud of? Can you name for us the party members whose public service efforts have been outstanding?

Answer. Don't you think that naming individuals could make people touchy and create problems? There are undoubtedly new members, and it is difficult for me to mention these names, but not because I do not know them. It may be because of God's grace that I do know the representatives individually. I know all the members of the Shura Council individually, and I also know the leaders of the party. But it is difficult to name some of them and forget the others. There are many young leaders in the party who can fill leadership positions in the party gradually. I am confident that the groups of young people who are in the party now will guarantee the continuity of leadership.

Some people are hurting the party, talking about it in terms that I am uncomfortable with. But the party is an idea, and why should one hurt an idea? The party is the idea behind the 23rd of July and the 15th of May, with their more numerous positive attributes. The Revolution's ideas are the ideas of all of us. The party is an organizational structure: I believe that the structure is good and that the party consists of persons. In all the parliaments of the world there may be persons who are not up to the required standard. But we do not assume a negative posture toward those people. There is a process of promotion only for those who are better and more suitable for assuming responsibility.

The opposition's campaign against the party is imminent, and that is normal. But I hope that the party's mission and the notions of the National Party are understood by citizens in that context.

[Question] Mr Secretary General, it may be that the party's ideas are not being subjected to a rigorous campaign because the party's program is an expression of what Egypt, moderate Egypt, really wants: a program that is the product of a long and broad experience.

What no one can deny is that attacks against individuals are continuing. The party may be a catalyst in this because the party is not telling us that it is serious about getting unfavorable members out of the party and because its organizational committee has not yet met to reevaluate individuals. This has left the impression that the party does not hold its members accountable for their actions.

[Answer] The party does hold its members accountable for their actions. Some party leaders may have been charged [already]. But the fact of the matter is that the accusations that are being made against some of them have been blown out of proportion. It is true that we do not want to have any corrupt leaders at all. The president is emphasizing integrity. I myself do not like to have a leader in any party position who is not honest. Of course being able to screen leaders, ascertain that they are corrupt, remove them from their positions and then find new leaders [to take their place] is not as easy as you think it is.

[Question] This may not have to do with corruption but rather with the lack of initiative. It is the lack of party activity that is placing a burden on party members, not the members who are placing the burden on the party.

[Answer] Achieving this would come about through rejuvenation. This would help us develop the party, and this is a moot point. In fact, this may be easier than getting a conviction which would be difficult to do because a conviction requires documents. And it is not easy to convict a person by rumor.

[Question] Mr Secretary General, what is required is not a conviction but only concern for a good reputation.

[Answer] When one removes an individual from his position because of rumors, one is imposing a harsh sentence on that individual.

[Question] It is indisputable that the opposition is deliberately disregarding the many accomplishments that have been made toward democracy in the past 2 years. When the opposition ignores the fact that some emergency laws have been dropped and harps only on the Emergency Law despite the government's assurances that this law will be used only to combat terrorism--and this is a promise that the government kept last year--the opposition is deviating from the truth. The opposition is deviating from the truth when it deliberately ignores many steps that have been taken toward democracy. But the question still remains: why don't we make the establishment of new parties possible?

[Answer] I in turn would ask the opposition what are the restrictions that are impeding the establishment of new parties? There are specific regulations [that have to do with] national unity, social peace and democratic socialism. Without these regulations the parties would have a geographical nature or a sectarian character, and no one would call for that.

The regulations also stipulate that the state be certain that a party's finances are sound so that our parties do not become branches of foreign activities.

I would also ask a practical question: has anyone other than the front party come forward with an application to the Commission on Parties and been turned down?

I would ask what are the parties that are being founded that came forward to us? There is only the Nasirist Party, and its application is still being considered by the commission.

[Question] There are points of view which state that it is the public alone that should make judgments on parties. It is only the public that can grant a party support or withhold such support from a party and allow it to shrivel and die.

[Answer] Are we now being called upon to let matters run their own course and to let parties be organized at random? Are we to let parties communicate with foreign countries and with people inside the country? Are we to let parties receive funds from here and there?

The constitution stressed specific regulations [that have to do with] national unity, social peace and democratic socialism. Can anyone dispute these regulations with me? They leave intact the essence of the Parties' Act which affirms support for basic liberties, such as the freedom to assemble and to speak. All these liberties are protected, and no one is complaining about that. The discussion that is going on is about giving parties freereign without regulations! For whom? I don't know.

The problem is that the Commission on Parties does not have now any applications for new parties that have been turned down. Why then is there all this contrived uproar?

[Question] There are those who think that in the Commission on Parties it is either the government or the National Party that will come out on top in making a judgment about whether or not new parties are to be established.

[Answer] The commission does not have now any applications that have been turned down. If there are some people who are appealing the commission's decision, their rights are protected. They may go to court and appeal the commission's decision as al-Ummah Party did.

[Question] Mr Secretary, we thank you for giving AL-MUSAWWAR so much of your time despite your busy schedule. We thank you and we wish you good health and we wish the party success.

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PROBLEMS CONTRIBUTING TO DECLINE OF EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM DISCUSSED

Union's Failures Decried

Cairo AL-AHALI in Arabic 2 Nov 83 p 3

[Article by 'Abd-al-Hamid Kamal]

[Text] A teacher is almost like a prophet, but....
Twenty-one percent of teachers are not pedagogically qualified, and 408,000 teachers are teaching 9 million students at the rate of 1 minute per student per class.
Teachers' Union wears an American hat and pays 2,500 pounds a year for the Free Federation [of Teachers' Unions].
Teachers' Union gives its half-hearted blessing to changes in curricula to delete material damaging to Israel.

As the new school year began, newspapers and media agencies came out with a rehash of articles containing the usual discussion about preparations for the school year. No mention was made in this discussion of teachers, their roles and their problems. Most of the discussion was about notebooks, buildings and books, even though teachers in the most backward educational systems--and ours is backward--which rely principally on inculcation are considered the principal ingredient in the educational process. Teachers are considered such a basic ingredient in these backward educational systems that they are blamed for all the mistakes of education.

Ignoring the problems of teachers does definitely have an effect on the social and psychological conditions of teachers and on their willingness to do their best and make a contribution.

According to 1982 statistics, there are over 408,000 teachers teaching 9 million students in the various stages of education. That is, according to official statistics, there is 1 teacher for every 20 students, even though we can see that in any school a teacher has 50 or 60 students. What is the reason for this alarming shortage? How is it that the agencies responsible for education are not doing something about it? Is this shortage due only to the fact that teachers are loaned to other countries, or are there other reasons for it?

A Constant Complaint

Teachers' problems begin with [their] salaries which are very low compared with the standard of work and performance or compared with the salaries of people employed in companies and other sectors. Conditions for teachers have not changed for many years.

Teachers' salaries have always been the subject of complaint.

Although it is known that [financial] incentives are disbursed to encourage workers and increase productivity, incentives for teachers are quite humiliating. Teachers who work hard with their students all year receive only 2 pounds when one of their students earns a grade of 10 [sic] percent. The 2 pounds come in the form of a postal money order which is cashed by the teacher as 198 piasters! What kind of incentive is this which frustrates teachers' efforts? Such an incentive does not encourage those efforts.

An Elimination Process for Recipients of Incentive Bonuses

Teachers receive an incentive bonus according to rules and conditions included in Decree No 81 for 1979. The elimination process for this bonus is as follows:

--In order for a teacher to receive the bonus, he must be rated an excellent teacher for 5 consecutive years: no less than 90 percent of his students must pass in general examinations; no less than 80 percent of his students must be promoted to a higher class; and no less than 65 percent of his students who are repeating classes must pass those classes.

--After that the process of elimination continues among 5 percent of the total number of candidates in accordance with the following rules: the one with the most job seniority; the most highly qualified; the one who has been teaching the longest; the oldest; and the one with the most seniority as far as the financial grade is concerned.

--Thus for a teacher to get a mere bonus, he must meet all these series of conditions.

When a teacher is promoted and becomes first teacher, supervisor or even **assistant director**, he receives no material allowance to be added to his modest salary. All that he gets is a word that is added to his title as teacher. Therefore, teachers give little importance to these promotions. Nevertheless, all promotions had been semi-frozen during the period that preceded the wellknown Decree Number 70. It turned out that there were 150,000 teachers and employees [who were eligible for] promotion. Therefore, Ministerial Decree Number 70 for 1981 was issued [authorizing] the promotion of this large number of teachers. That group of teachers included 80,000 teachers in elementary education alone; their promotions had been delayed.

One Minute for Each Student

Most of the country's schools operate on two shifts: one in the morning and one in the evening. Some schools operate on three shifts. Statistics affirm that at a

time when the number of students is increasing, the number of school buildings is declining.

A series of research papers from the Institute of Planning prepared by Dr Majidah Ibrahim and Dr 'Afaf Nakhlah indicated that statistics affirm that in Japan, for example, a teacher's quota is 26 students and in Czechoslovakia, it is 20 students.

Making Teachers Qualified

As the Paper on Developing Education indicates, 21 percent of the teachers who teach are not qualified to teach. That is about 100,000 teachers. It is known that teachers who teach in the first stage of education have nine different diplomas: a certificate of competence [to teach], a secondary school certificate, an industrial secondary school certificate, an agricultural secondary school certificate, a commercial secondary school certificate, an old elementary school certificate, a certificate of competency, a 3-year teachers' diploma and a 5-year teachers' diploma. Teachers who are members of the union asked that a system be set up to make them qualified to teach. The union has finally agreed, and on 10 March 1983 the Supreme Council for the Universities agreed to consider those qualifying studies equivalent to a bachelor's degree. A plan was drawn up for making 10,000 teachers qualified to teach. During the first week of October official newspapers published [a report] that 6,400 teachers from Cairo and al-Jizah had been selected for these courses, but that none had been selected from the remaining governorates.

And yet, nothing happened despite the recommendations of the Conference To Improve Elementary Education (July and August 1962); despite the recommendations of the [union's] general assemblies in April 1983--25 of them; despite what was mentioned in the Paper on Developing Education; and despite numerous articles [on the subject] that were published.

The Union's Resources

It is known that the Teachers' Union is one of the wealthiest professional unions [in the country] despite the manifestations of misery that befall its members, with the exception of a very few of course. The union has many resources; these include:

--Membership fees which vary from 6 to 12 pounds per member a year.

--72 pounds [in fees] paid by members for every year they spend working abroad.

--Fees for the union, for the magazine and for subcommittees.

--Stamp fees for the Union of Educational Professions [paid by] every student in the various stages of education.

--Fees paid for application forms for candidacy to union positions on various levels.

--Fifty percent of 1 month's net raise from all teachers.

- Five percent of the royalties due to authors of textbooks.
- One half of a percent of the contract amounts for printing books.
- Two percent of the examination bonus.
- Proceeds from fines and contributions for assistance.

According to its 1982 budget the union's revenues amounted to about 8.5 million pounds. While millions of pounds go into the union's coffers every year, teachers earn small salaries that hardly meet their essential needs. Funds [belonging to] the Teachers' Union are invested in numerous companies and banks.

--991,000 pounds [are invested] in shares in the Commerce and Development Bank.

--375,000 pounds in shares in the National Housing Company for [Professional] Unions.

--50,000 pounds in shares in the Economic Company for Development.

--50,000 pounds in shares in the Islamic Economic Company. That figure will become 200,000 pounds.

--20,000 pounds in shares in Bisco Misr [Company].

--10,000 pounds in shares in the Iron and Steel Company.

--Fixed deposits in banks totalling over 2,148,000 pounds. These funds are distributed among the [following] banks: the Development Bank, Misr Bank (the main office and the Mustafa Kamil branch) and the National Bank of Egypt. All these resources and all these investments, and no concrete returns to teachers!

"Teachers Are O.K.. Mr President!"

At a time when teachers are hurting because of the numerous problems they have, the union is keeping its distance from them. It is enough for us to mention what the former president of the Teachers' Union said on the ninth anniversary of Teachers' Day, which was attended by former president al-Sadat. The former president of the Teachers' Union, who had held that office for 10 years, from May 1971 to May 1982, is also a prominent member of the National Party's Secretariat of Professionals.

The president of the union said [the following] in his speech: "The time has come, Mr President, to point out the positive. And there has been so much of that in your prosperous and bountiful administration. But before we do that, it may be appropriate to mention by way of comparison some of the facts on the international scene. Female teachers in many countries of the world, even in advanced countries, do not receive salaries equal to those that are received by their male colleagues, even though they do the same work. But in Egypt everyone is equal.

"Teachers in the United States do not earn salaries during the summer vacation months.

"Because of the economic crisis, there is a worldwide trend to reduce education budgets, and conferences have been held to look into this problem. But in our country the education budget is rising at higher rates year after year. I point out with pride that there are large numbers of teachers in many countries of the world who are unemployed, but in Egypt there isn't a single unemployed teacher."

(He did not mention the ratio of the teacher shortage in Egypt).

That was what the past president of the Teachers' Union said. He said that everything was just fine. What was mentioned in that address was enough. It can be judged on the basis of the actual condition of Egyptian teachers.

Wasting Teachers' Funds

The budget of the Teachers' Union contains figures that are quite contradictory and quite curious. The public union has a separate budget that amounts to 596,000 pounds. The union's branches in all the governorates get a share [from that budget] that amounts to 185,000 pounds. While the public union expends 15,600 pounds for the teachers' health care project, we find that it is spending 38,000 pounds to make up for losses sustained by the public union, the hospital, and the pension fund. At a time when the general union by itself is earmarking the sum of 18,000 pounds for repairs, it wants to earmark 5,000 pounds only to make teachers qualified to teach. While the union spends 13,000 pounds for travel allowances, we find that it is spending 3,500 pounds only to take part in the celebrations for Teachers' Day on March 1983 to honor exemplary teachers throughout the country. While the union spent 17,368 pounds for the minor pilgrimage, and only 410 teachers have benefited from that expenditure, we find that it is appropriating 90,000 pounds for buildings and construction for the summer resort at Ra's al-Barr. Do these figures which indicate how the union is spending teachers' funds require comment?

Housing and Education

The union owns land in al-Jazirah and al-Duqqi [in Cairo] and in Sidi Bishr in Alexandria. It owns stock worth 375,000 pounds in the National Housing Company for Professional Unions. Despite that, the union provides no services to speak of to its members in the way of housing. All that the union has done in this area was build two apartment buildings that have 70 apartments. These apartment buildings have not been finished yet, and their cost has amounted to 50,388 pounds.

Although there is much rhetoric in the report on cultural and pedagogical affairs and in the union's magazine as well, it is an established fact that the sum of 2.5 thousand pounds [Translator's note: It appears that at least one if not two digits are missing from the text] was earmarked in the union's budget for educational efforts, experiments, pedagogical research and activities. No expenditures have been made from this sum. Also, the 5,000 pounds that were earmarked for making teachers qualified to teach--although it is a modest sum--has remained intact and nothing has been spent from it. At the same time the union spent 192,600 pounds for AL-RA'ID Magazine which is published by the union. Teachers do not read that magazine because its articles are outdated; it is poorly produced; it does not express [Their interests] in any way; and, in addition, they do not receive it.

Teachers and the National Movement

Teachers have not failed to do their part in the National Movement, and history has been a witness to their struggle. Teachers joined the first union [that was formed] in 1910 for the principals and teachers of primary schools and teachers of government schools. The first issue of SAHIFAH AL-MU'ALLIMIN [Teachers' Journal] came out in February 1923 containing articles condemning Dunlop's educational policy. The journal talked about being fair to teachers; it talked about authority and freedom; and it talked about the role of making things acceptable and desirable in education instead of making them frightening and awesome. Teachers are also to be remembered for their stance against the Penal code in 1925 during the administration of Zaywar Pasha. One finds in the journal articles with the byline of Muhammad Farid Abu Hadid, Muhammad Badran, Mustafa Musharrafah, Isma'il al-Qabani, Mustafa al-Sha'ar and 'Abd-al-Rahman Shukri. Nor are we forgetting the history of the longest teachers' strike, which lasted 21 days in 1951. Teachers went on strike then to call for a trade union law.

Today, however, the Teachers' Union took no action when the whole world was moved in the face of the Zionist enemy's arrogance and intransigence, his criminal invasion of Beirut and [the role he played] in the massacres at Sabra and Shatila. While the professional associations of attorneys, journalists, physicians and artists and the General Labor Union denounced this aggression and set up conferences as well as picture and poster exhibits [to protest the Zionist enemy's action], the Teachers' Union took no action. Quite the contrary it half-heartedly gave its blessings to changes in curricula and to the deletion of expressions from some courses of study that hurt Israel. The Teachers' Union took no action on the interventions that were taking place at an Arab university, Bir Zeit University. It did not face up to the massacres and the persecution that Arab teachers and students were being subjected to in Lebanon and in Palestine. What is even more grave is the fact that the union joined the Free International Federation of Teachers, which is well-known for its relations with Zionists and U.S. intelligence. The Teachers' Union pays that federation from the teachers' funds the sum of 2,500 pounds in annual dues.

The Union's Democracy

The union, whose leaders boast about the democracy of education and the efforts that are being made to instill democratic values into our children, took no action in the face of interventions that are taking place in union liberties. It took no action against the attack that was made against the freedom of the Bar Association and the legitimacy of its elected board of directors. It was not moved by the dismissal of a group of professors from the colleges and institutes of higher learning in September 1981. It took no action to defend or support its members who were arrested.

Aren't we then entitled to say quite honestly that no good can come out of the educational process in Egypt unless all the aspects of education are reformed? Chief among those aspects are the status of Egyptian teachers and their union organization.

Economic Liberalization Blamed for Decline

Cairo AL-AHALI in Arabic 2 Nov 83 p 3

[Article by Kifah Ahmad]

[Text] The declining value of education in the age of economic liberalization has undermined people's sense of national affiliation.

What is happening in the institutes of public education?

Economic liberalization is deemed the reason for the fact that 62 percent of pupils in elementary schools drop out of school.

The objectives of public education are to develop citizens culturally, scientifically and nationally; to upgrade citizens' standards of citizenship; and to furnish citizens with the necessary capabilities and skills that will enable them to make contributions to society's productive activities.

Because the educational system and what is contained in it are determined by what society's social, economic and political framework will allow, we find that there is a big gap between the declared objectives of education and what is actually achieved.

The Objective and the Course

Subhi 'Atallah, undersecretary of the Ministry of Education for secondary education says, "The purpose of pre-university education is to prepare students for life and to help them make positive contributions to the activities of society.

"The ministry is in the process of reconsidering secondary education. It is altering the courses of secondary education and developing its curricula."

Drop-out Rate Rises

Dr 'Abd-al-'Azim Anis, a professor in the College of Sciences at Cairo University says, "The Ministry of Education is using statements and statistics to paint a rosy picture that is at odds with what is really happening in education. For example, a report from the ministry on developing and modernizing education in Egypt (July 1980) mentioned that in 1979-1980 enrollment rates in elementary education amounted to 75 percent. Elsewhere in the same report it was mentioned that that rate was 83 percent. Which part of the report are we to believe?

"Also this percentage does not prove anything. The question is this: who goes on with his education till the end? A study carried out jointly by the National Center for Educational Research and the IBRD (March 1980) mentioned that the drop-out rate in elementary education was 29 percent for boys and 33 percent for girls. The study mentioned that the drop-out rate was rising because of the liberalization policy and an increase in employment opportunities. In its report on the development of education the ministry affirmed that the state was supervising all education [activities]. The facts, however, indicate otherwise. Foreign schools and language schools that are owned by proponents of economic liberalization exist and their number is growing. Also more than 8,000 students

apply every year for the British General Education Certificate. And why not have an American High School Diploma after that?"

An Organization for School Buildings

Dr Subhi 'Atallah, undersecretary of the ministry says, "The number of pupils subject to mandatory education exceeds 1.2 million. The state is being called upon to find space for them in basic, mandatory education. The state then has to find space for them in public secondary education and then in the university.

"The Organization for School Buildings used to play an important role in building schools. It used to turn over to the ministry two schools every three days, but the organization was abolished in keeping with the decentralization policy and the support for local government. The task of building schools was turned over to the agencies of the Ministry of Housing in the governorates. These agencies receive the necessary appropriations for school buildings. The Ministry of Education and the National Council for Education are calling for the restoration of the Organization for School Buildings."

The Means of Education

Dr Hilmi Murad, secretary general of the Labor Party and former minister of education says, "It is possible to overcome the problem of furnishing modern devices for the schools' technical and industrial workshops by setting up on-site and practical connections between these schools and factories. Every large factory should have a school nearby that specializes in providing training for that industry. After students complete their training and graduate, they can work at those factories."

Dr 'Abd-al-'Azim Anis says, "I do not believe that educational courses in general are staying in step with scientific progress. For example, the basic experiment in modernizing curricula in secondary education (the 1968 UNESCO Plan), which had to do with disseminating modern math, failed despite its success in most western countries. Curricula are changed frequently; history courses are tampered with; and civics courses are changed in accordance with the requirements of the political situation."

Dr Rif'at al-Sa'id, assistant secretary of the Central Committee for the Grouping Party says, "History courses are not written in a scientific manner. Those who write the history courses present history as though it were a story, a news item or a listing of accomplishments or mistakes. They do not offer students the basic principles by means of which they can understand historical information and develop an ability to evaluate this information and benefit from it."

The Democracy of Education

Dr 'Abd-al-'Azim Anis says, "The process of making education democratic is being set back. At the time when poor people and the lower middle classes are having less access to education, the number of private schools and language schools is growing--there are more than 300 private schools--even though all pedagogical research proves that teaching a second language in the elementary stage of education is a mistake."

National Unity

Dr Muhammad Ahmad Khalafallah, member of the general secretariat of the Grouping Party and former minister of culture says, "The present system on which religious instruction is based and dividing students into Muslims and Christians works against national unity and does not achieve it.

"There are institutions other than schools which bear the responsibility for teaching religion. First of all, there is the family. Second, there is society, which is an extension of the family. Then there are other institutions established by society specifically to teach religion. These are mosques and churches. If families are responsible for determining the religious affiliation of their children and if careful religious education is carried out by the mosque and the church, we must then limit the responsibility of the schools in teaching religion.

"If we were to pursue this course, we would be creating national unity in the schools since there are no differences from a social standpoint between one religion and another in so far as that social standpoint constitutes cultural values of life that are based on virtuous principles and morals."

A Short School Day

Dr Subhi 'Atallah, undersecretary of the ministry says, "Because of the lack of space in school buildings, educational administrations have to use school buildings for more than one school shift. This makes a school day for students no more than 3 hours long. That period of time is not enough for students to understand their lessons and to receive a proper education from all the standpoints. Proper education for our children, which involves their minds, their health, their conduct and their social skills requires that students stay in school for no less than 7 or 8 hours [a day]."

Dr Hilmi Murad says, "Students spend very little time in school. That time is used only to inculcate information in the least time possible. Students' conduct is no longer being monitored; students are not taught activities or hobbies; they do not even engage in physical exercises. There is no relationship between students and teachers and [no attempt is made] to create an atmosphere in the school that would make students like school."

Dr 'Abd-al-'Azim says, "A student's sense of affiliation [with the society] is developed gradually; it takes shape as he interacts with society in accordance with the examples he sees as models [of behavior] in school or in the family. A student's sense of affiliation has to be undermined when he sees his teachers vying with each other over private lessons. His sense of affiliation has to be undermined when he sees millions of graduates looking for ways to earn a living abroad. Moreover, he discovers after completing his education that education is worthless amidst all the parasitic activities that were created by economic liberalization."

Dr Hilmi Murad adds, "Officials are always talking about developing educational systems, and they make a point of underscoring the statistics and figures about increasing the budget for education and raising attendance rates at schools. But these are not the main points, at least not the main points in stemming the

continuing decline in the standards of education in Egypt. Educational standards in Egypt are declining both from the standpoint of education as a service and from the standpoint of education being a social [accomplishment] whose worth is diminishing in front of the values of liberalization. The principal points in the question of public education include expanding school buildings, paying attention to the questions of modernizing education and making it democratic and, most importantly, setting up the social, economic and political framework for society that would achieve [society's] educational objectives."

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CSO: 4504/60

NPUG LEADER OUTLINES POSITIONS ON ISLAMIC RESURGENCE, PEACE PROCESS

Cairo AL-AHALI in Arabic 12 Oct 83 p 2

[Article by Husayn 'Abd Rabbuh: "Khalid Muhyi al-Din in al-Minya Says, 'President Mubarak Has an Historic Opportunity To Effect Change without Producing Shocks; How Can Villages Be Productive when Farmers' Worries Are Piling up without Solutions?' The Position of the Grouping Party on the Application of the Canonical Law of Islam; the Only Outcome of Restraining People and Applying Pressure on Them Will Be an Explosion"]

[Text] At the political meetings he held in al-Minya Khalid Muhyi al-Din said, "Although we do agree with President Mubarak about rejecting the electric shock method and the method of haphazard, sudden changes, we do tell him this: 'You have what may be a singular historic opportunity to bring about calm change in a democratic manner through the elections of local councils and the People's Assembly. A policy that continues to apply restraints and pressure on people without coming up with a just solution for their problems, which are getting worse, and rules out any real democratic participation will only result in an explosion and false stability. This policy is being promoted by those who wish to maintain a firm hold on citizens' lives.'

"Calling upon citizens to abandon their passive posture and participate in earnest in building up their country will continue to be a hollow and meaningless slogan unless citizens are free to exercise their freedom to organize and to speak and unless they feel confident about the future of their children and the security of their families.

"A national awakening, freedom and justice are the only elements required for molding citizens and the country and effecting a transition for both from subordination to independence. This is what we will continue to struggle for with all the honest forces on Egyptian territory so we can achieve it no matter how great the sacrifices we must make."

This announcement was made by the secretary general of the party in the organizational and political meetings that the delegation of the secretariat general and the leaders of the Grouping Party held in the governorate of al-Minya. These meetings were witnessed by the party's friends, by the leaders of the Labor Party and the National Party, particularly the young leaders, and by a number of public figures in Mallawi, Bani Mazar and Samalut. The meetings were held on the occasion of inaugurating the offices of the Grouping Party in the city of al-Minya and the district capital of Matay.

Although the focus of the secretary general's talk was on two principal points--the week of celebrations which included the anniversary of the death of the leader Jamal 'Abd-al-Nasir and the celebrations commemorating the glorious crossing [of the canal] on 6 October and the link between the two historic events--it is worth noting that these meetings turned into open discussions with the secretary general and with the secretariat's delegation. [This open discussion covered a variety of subjects] starting with Muhyi al-Din's position as former member of the Revolutionary Command Council. It covered the question of the elections and the concerns of citizens and of the country. This impels us to present the most important issues of that thought provoking and multi-faceted dialogue.

The Islamic Tendency and the Canonical Law of Islam

[Question] In many countries like Italy, Germany and other countries we hear and read about parties that are called the Christian Democratic Party and so on. Where does the Grouping Party stand on the right of the Islamic tendency to establish its own independent platform? What is your position on the application of the canonical law of Islam?

[Answer] The Islamic tendency is an actual fact in Egypt. Ignoring that tendency has led to momentous and serious mistakes. We, as the Grouping Party support the right of all forces to have their parties and their independent newspapers.

But the Christian Democratic Party, or other parties that fly the banner of Christianity, interprets its positions in a political program that is presented to the public. We are asking the Islamic tendency to formulate a political program from an outlook that is derived from Islamic law. That political program would define the Islamic tendency's policy on national, political, economic and social issues and problems and so on. The Islamic tendency can then be held accountable on that basis, and it can be engaged in a discussion. It would not just hide behind the glorious banner of the Holy Koran and the honorable tradition.

Regarding our position on the canonical law of Islam our program stipulated that Islamic law was the principal source of law. When al-Shaykh Salah Abu Isma'il submitted his memorandum to the People's Assembly regarding codifying the canonical law of Islam, the deputies of the Grouping Party were among the first to sign it.

Our position briefly is this: there is no place for independent judgment wherever there is a provision [in the Koran]; if there is no provision [in the Koran], we are to refer to the honorable tradition; if nothing pertinent can be found, then independent judgment would come into play. And here too we are calling for the canonical law of Islam to be put into an Egyptian civil code wherein all Egyptians, Muslims and Christians would be equal as stipulated by the constitution.

[Question] What is your position on the Islamic groups and the torture to which they are being subjected?

[Answer] The Islamic groups do not have yet a specific and a clear political program to enable the Grouping Party to determine its position on them. But let

me tell you quite frankly that we are against violence and mutual violence regardless of its source, whether it is perpetrated by state agencies or by other political forces. We also begin [by saying] that we oppose the torture of any citizen regardless of his faith and regardless of the degree of difference or agreement with him. Our position on torturing the members [of these groups] is unequivocal.

Sovereignty: the Flag and the Army

[Question] Why do you oppose Camp David?

[Answer] Sovereignty is comprised in the flag and the army. This treaty bars the presence of the Egyptian armed forces in Sinai. Only limited numbers of [our] armed forces would be allowed, and those forces would have certain kinds of weapons. In other words there are to be no missiles except at a distance of 30 kilometers from the west bank of the canal. There are to be no air bases even though Egypt has built two air bases on the Egyptian borders. Briefly, Sinai has been demilitarized, and the multi-national forces that were stationed there to effect the disengagement of the troops cannot be withdrawn unless the three parties--the United States, Egypt and Israel--approve the withdrawal. We have seen with our own eyes the practical position of the multi-national force in Lebanon!

On the other side [of this coin] ending a state of war is a "situation" that is known in international law. Limited term treaties are also known. The [duration of the] 1936 treaty was 20 years. But this unequal treaty is permanent: it requires us to exchange diplomats with Israel and make trade agreements with it. It stipulates that Egypt will furnish Israel with 2 million tons of oil annually. What if the oil in Sinai were to be depleted? Do we continue furnishing Israel with oil, and do we drain our oil resources? And what is this Israeli institute that is being set up under the umbrella of cultural cooperation? That institute is compiling information about Egypt and distorting national culture.

Furthermore, the Camp David Accords are also placing other restrictions on the national will. I will give one example: the application for the establishment of the National Front Party was turned down because the party's founders, Mr Kamal al-Din Husayn, the late engineer Mahmud al-Qadi, Justice Mumtaz Nassar and others opposed Camp David while Yitzhak Shamir, the present prime minister of Israel and the speaker of the Israeli Knesset at the time the accords were signed, rejected that agreement!

[Question] Are you calling for abrogation of the treaty and a return to war?

[Answer] Except for the October War, Israel has always been the one who launched war against the Arabs. This stems from its expansionist dream of a greater Israel. Israel has always attacked first because a first strike was the application of its theory of security. Israel's barbaric invasion of Lebanon, which was carried out with the support and the blessing of the United States, affirmed that the October War was not the last war [to be fought in the area] as some people thought it might be.

Sharon is brazenly and impudently declaring that 75 percent of Jordanian

territory is Israeli territory, and Shamir, the prime minister, is threatening that any infringement upon the articles of the treaty will force Israel to occupy Sinai.

I am delighted today to hear that Egypt's military capability is being built up and prepared to deter any aggression. I am also delighted because many people are beginning to realize, and this is coming in the aftermath of the fires in Beirut, that it is the Israeli danger that is a threat to all of us.

Our party's position on abrogating the treaty makes it necessary for us to have an integrated plan that would free us from the burdensome restrictions that have been imposed on our will by this inauspicious treaty. We have to have a plan to build our own power on the basis of self-reliance so that our will would not be held hostage in a web of subordination to [goods that range] from wheat to weapons. We would thus take gradual steps to abrogate this treaty in fact and restore to Egypt its leadership role in the Arab world. This is the road to peace and not the road to war. This is unlike the Egyptian-Israeli treaty which has been the road to war in the area as we can see now.

A Loaf of Bread Becomes a Deadly Weapon

Question] How will this self-reliance be achieved when you say that Egypt and its people are facing a crushing crisis whose difficulties will be greater in the coming months?

Answer] I admit that self-reliance is not a slogan one would proclaim, but this is a real battle that calls for [making] sacrifices and [enduring] hardship, particularly since the real enemies of an independent Egypt will not hesitate to use any weapon and every weapon to get to independent Egypt. You must know that a loaf of bread has also become another deadly weapon in the battle for liberation from subordination.

We have to determine our priorities and the objectives we want to attain. We, the Grouping Party, came up with a program for economic salvation. It involved a 3-year period of transition in the context of the existing capitalist system. After that, a plan would be drawn up on a sound basis; all the resources would be amassed for that plan; and the role of the private sector would be preserved. But unfortunately, even though this opinion was accepted at the economic conference, what did happen was the opposite.

We are not to expect foreign assistance, nor should we entertain broad hopes that we will get that assistance, whether it is American or Arab. This is because everyone is going through crushing crises either because of the burdens of the arms race or because of the decline in oil prices.

Organizing al-Jihad and Other Political Organizations

I was astounded and shocked when I read about the symposium on banks, which was convened by AL-MUSAWWAR Magazine. I read that remittances sent abroad by foreign banks exceeded 6 billion dollars, while we borrow from abroad at high interest rates.

The Egyptian people can make miracles if they feel that the sacrifices they are

making will not end up lining the pockets of thieves and parasites. Egyptians can make miracles if they can participate freely in making decisions or influencing the process of making political decisions, a process which determines their future and the future of their children.

Egyptians who work abroad realize the highest rates [of productivity], and everyone testifies to their high level of competence. Why is that? It's because they feel they get a fair return on their efforts. Regardless of the slogans that are used, to get Egyptians out of their passive posture, Egyptians will not become productive unless they can exercise their freedom of speech and can feel confident about the security of their families and the future of their children.

We are wondering, how will we become self-sufficient in grains--and this is something we are all hoping for? How will this be achieved when farmers' worries are growing, when those leasing small tracts of land have no stability and when the price for grain crops is not rewarding? There is concern about directing our scientific and technological energies--and there are many of those--toward the effort to come out with new high-yielding varieties of grain. Why? Because there is no incentive for farmers after their financial revenues declined; farmers found themselves at the bottom rung of the income ladder in society.

Transition from Subordination to Independence

[Question] What can the people do to confront this situation? We have three election systems: the first is for labor elections; the second is for Shura Council and local council elections; and the third is for the People's Assembly. How can the average citizen understand these systems? And how can participation be realized when those who are taking advantage of the situation insist on continuing to do so?

[Answer] Our people can effect the transition of Egypt from subordination to independence provided they are given the opportunity to take part in a democratic expression. Although we do agree with President Mubarak's rejection of a shock therapy method and sudden haphazard changes, we would tell him from here, "You have what may be a singular historic opportunity to bring about calm change in a democratic way. There is still time to repeal the laws regulating elections for people's organizations [that provide] local services. [There is time to go back on, merging these institutions with the state machinery as the ruling party has been striving to do. This is a very serious sign which signifies that the [ruling party] continues to control citizens' lives. Then there is that law about a conditional proportional partisan list. The party's insistence that that course continue not only rules out the hopes people have for change and for solving their daily problems, but it also [asserts] that an explosion will be the only consequence of that course.

Embitterment alone without action will do nothing. Opposition parties and national forces will meet on Friday, 7 October to discuss their stance on the question of the elections because it is a crucial question that will determine for years to come where Egypt is headed.

We are asking you to sign this statement with us. We want 1 million signatures so that President Mubarak would know that the people reject this travesty of an election which his advisers call stability.

It is a sad fact, fellow citizens, that an official statement is issued stating that the ruling party's candidates for the Shura Council received more than 51 percent of the vote when you and those officials know the shameful truth. What is ludicrous is their declaration that voter turnout in Aswan was only 81 percent. This is because we were there. Had we gone to Damietta, voter turnout there would have changed from 20.4 percent to 90.4 percent although we didn't call upon anyone in Aswan or here in al-Minya to boycott the elections for the Shura Council because quite simply we reject that in principle.

The Right To Petition Is Guaranteed by the Constitution

As the colleague 'Iryan Nasif says, "The parameters of the siege have been laid out! These are manifested in a policy of abolishing the masses, terrifying them, applying pressure on them, and corrupting the minds and hearts of Egyptians. All of us--each citizen who is concerned about the security and the future of Egypt--have to break out of this [circle of] siege and fear. We have to take positive action to get Egypt out of its crisis. Signing petitions is an Egyptian method that has been known in Egypt since the days of 'Urabi's Revolution and since the days of the 1919 Revolution. It is a right guaranteed [to us] by the constitution and the law to address the authorities as individuals or as groups.

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PRESIDENT DISCUSSES VARIOUS RECENT RELIGIOUS, DOMESTIC REFORMS

London AL-TADAMUN in Arabic No 31, 12 Nov 83 pp 6-12

[Interview with President Ja'far Numayri by Fu'ad Matar: "The End of the World Might Start in Lebanon; As of Today, There Will Be No Imamate in the Sudan"]

[Text] There is no one who knows like someone who has heard; there is no one who has heard like someone who has seen; there is no one who has seen like someone who has borne witness and debated.

A saying of this sort is essential as a starting point for describing the nature of this conversation with President Ja'far Numayri.

I had previously held some interviews with President Numayri, over a period of 10 years, but this interview occurred in the midst of circumstances which were distinctive and regarding which there were many statements and explanations. Perhaps the most prominent of these circumstances was that President Numayri surprised the Sudanese and others, while at the same time not surprising them, on the subject of the application of Islamic laws, and surprised them, or, for accuracy's sake, surprised some of them, in terms of timing but surprised no one in terms of preparation.

In addition to that, there is the mission which President Numayri does not cease striving to achieve, which bears on devising a conciliatory formulation for the restoration of relations between Egypt and the Arab countries.

During a week replete with meetings and discussions with a number of Sudanese brethren, the picture of the Islamic transformation became clearer. If one may say so, it now is possible to convey some impressions on what has happened and is still in the process of happening in the Sudan as a result of the application of Islamic laws, and it is also now possible to read these laws and the interpretations and theories which have accompanied them with a high degree of insight.

In this issue, there is an interview with President Numayri which includes, among the overall points in it, the issue of the application of Islamic laws, and this will be followed, in three successive issues, in serial form,

by the impressions and observations I set down on a visit to the Sudan which was extraordinary by all standards. The title of this series will be "Neutral Islam in the Sudan: Thoughts and Impressions."

What is in particular noteworthy in President Numayri's talk is his analysis of the struggle going on between American and Soviet strategy in the Middle East area. In the context of this analysis, he cited a phrase which draws the attention of the person who hears or reads it. That phrase is "The end of the world might start in Lebanon." Also noteworthy in his conversation is his statement "There will be no imamate as of now in the Sudan," unless, as he expresses it, it is of al-Ghazali's sort of imamate, that is, an imamate of learning and jurisprudence.

AL-TADAMUN: Mr President, you have adopted decrees that no regime after you will be able to abrogate, even if the Communists take power. However, you yourself, alone, can exercise enough flexibility to thwart many predictions and rumors. Will you exercise this flexibility?

President Ja'far Numayri: In the name of God the most merciful and all-compassionate; thanks and praise be to God, and prayers for his prophet and our messenger of God. The declaration of governance by Islamic law in the Sudan is a matter which goes beyond the Sudan and is of concern to the Arabs and Moslems in general. However, before going into the details on it, let me bring one's memory back to this same date (18 October 1964), when the Sudanese people sought the restoration of democratic life from the military regime, and to the role we played within the armed forces to support the popular upheaval which was crowned by victory on 21 October, when we went over to the side of the people and the military leaders were compelled to relinquish power in accordance with rules and principles we set forth. These remain the same principles and rules as those on whose basis we unleashed the 25 May 1969 revolution, after the civilians had failed to preserve the people's gains and had fallen prey to tribal, racial, factional and party disputes, which prompted us to move the armed forces, and the other military forces, toward greater national action and the development of their role in an alliance with the working forces of the people, so that with the power they had, they became the organization, will and solidarity of the force leading this alliance, causing the citizens to insist on electing an individual from the armed forces to be a president for a third term, being totally convinced that this was not a military regime, as others allege, although the president engages in all his official activities in military uniform.

[Question] What happened during this period of government?

[Answer] What happened was that the principles and policies which I have been assigned and have committed myself to have been carried out. In response to your question on our decision to be governed by God's book, I would like to remind people of the first communique of the revolution, the communiqués which I have declared in all my meetings, the national charter which we wrote, the constitution and the various laws. In all these documents there is a clear orientation toward government by God's book and the commitment to Islamic law. In a nation in which Islamic culture is extremely deep-rooted, we raised government by the book from the level of the

individual to that of the government. Moslems are to govern themselves by God's book, a matter which has enabled this country, with numerous cultures (550 tribes or more) and a vast area (2.5 million square kilometers), to live in peace and security, in comparison with the countries that border on it. The declaration of government by Islamic law in the Sudan was not a surprise to most of the citizens, but the surprise for us was embodied in the rapid positive response and the happiness and joy with which it was met not just domestically but abroad as well, and by citizens in countries with which we are not linked by good relations, such as Iran and Libya.

The religious compunctions of the Sudanese citizen are very strong. Even people who drink liquor were gladdened by the decree prohibiting it, and specialists in economic affairs did not react favorably to statements that there would be a deficit in revenues from the customs and production duties imposed on alcohol. The only person who raised this matter with me was the representative of the International Monetary Fund, who told me that the decree would create a gap of 40 million pounds in revenues. I answered him that I had not imagined that it would be more than 4 million, but if it was truly 40 million that supported the decree and made it necessary, and it would be possible to make sacrifices domestically which would cover this gap. In addition, prohibiting liquor would save us the money we spend on citizens for its health effects, as well as its negative social features.

We received many cables and letters from families and women praising the decree, which gave them back their social well-being. You may observe the approval of public opinion from the comments and cartoons the newspapers are publishing. The only difficulty which faced me from the standpoint of execution in these decrees was that they were not carried out with the necessary speed although speed was necessary, because the goal is to restore rights to the people entitled to them and make justice the arbitrator.

Western countries accuse us of barbarism regarding Islamic provisions and ignore that Islamic provisions are more merciful, and that execution to us is not murder, as it is to them, since it is possible to substitute blood money for the family of the person murdered, indeed, the family of the person murdered can pardon the murderer.

The British Ambassador and the Experts

AL-TADAMUN: Have some ambassadors addressed themselves to the question of foreign experts or asked that specific exceptions be allotted to them?

President Ja'far Numayri: Many foreigners and diplomats may perhaps not realize that Islam was revealed to serve man and that all its legislation has the goal of regulating family, social and individual life and raising the level of the individual. When we declared the prohibition on alcohol, the British ambassador came to me with a general from his country who was visiting the Sudan, and found the opportunity to tell me that the decree might perhaps result in the loss of foreign experts. I told him that if the reason for the presence of advisors in the Sudan was alcohol, let us lose them; there are many people on earth who do not like alcohol. Indeed, the Christian religion does not encourage the drinking of alcohol. I told him

that I had expected he would be bringing us a letter of thanks from his government, because we have about 4,000 British experts here whom the decree will help cure of the problems of alcohol. I told him, "You are fighting smoking, which is a stimulant, so what about alcohol? In any event, it is always the duty of foreigners to observe the laws of the country they are living in." The ambassador was won over by what I said.

Some people talk about the condition of women and say that I will issue republican decrees imposing the veil on women. I object to the word "veil," because to veil something means hiding it from existence. Women here participate in the society. By their nature they are against flagrant dress. The Sudanese robe, which is part of our culture, is adequate for us here; women in the era of the prophet pursued working careers. Our Lady Khadijah worked in trade.

AL-TADAMUN: Did you familiarize yourself with a report, a memorandum or a study on alcohol in the Sudan from the financial and health standpoints before adopting the decision?

President Ja'far Numayri: Of course. We subject all laws to thorough study before approving them. There were specialized committees of a number of scholars from the Sudan and abroad who set out the formulation of some laws for us; we familiarized ourselves with them, amended them, and added the Islamic penalties to them.

AL-TADAMUN: Now that it is being applied, will you ask for a study on the psychological effects that have arisen from prohibition?

President Ja'far Numayri: Actually, we have not done so. However, we have followup and statistics departments which present regular reports on the effects of laws on individuals and groups. Fortunately, all the reports have been extremely encouraging.

(In the economic section there is a summary of a preliminary field study presented to President Numayri, who agreed that we could publish the salient paragraphs in it.)

AL-TADAMUN: Is it permissible to assume that there was an element of conscience or a position of a personal character on your excellency's part in these decrees?

President Ja'far Numayri: I can say that there was an element of conscience, perhaps as an effect of the religious upbringing in which I was raised. Also, my personal experience with alcohol has been of influence in convincing me of its harmful and ill effects.

AL-TADAMUN: Some people wonder if you will compel people to keep the fast of Ramadan, for instance.

President Ja'far Numayri: Any Moslem who has attained the conditions of a Moslem, in the sense that he has attained maturity, must commit himself to the rituals of worship, unless there are legitimate reasons and

authorizations that exempt him from that. I do not compel people to fast, but I do compel them not to break the fast openly. I do not compel them to pray, but I do offer the wherewithal for guidance and good exhortation, in carrying out the dictum that there is no compulsion in religion.

AL-TADAMUN: What stages did these decrees go through? Are they a summary of experience in governing or are they a state of religious worship?

President Ja'far Numayri: I can say that they are a mixture of both. From the standpoint of experience in governing, I affirmed that the secular laws did not solve the problems of the society and the individual. From the standpoint of worship, these laws were the radical solution to these problems, and some Islamic laws which were applied, such as the personal status laws, were the object of people's approval. The only problem was the delay in resolving cases.

The gradual way in which these laws were set out was a factor. When our brother al-Rashid al-Tahir was prime minister in 1967, he assigned a committee of Arab and Moslem scholars to set out a plan for Islamic laws, and some of them actually were prepared and presented to the national People's Assembly 5 years ago but not discussed. Last year, I drew one of them out of the assembly and issued it as a temporary order in order to set an example for the deputies. This year I felt that I had to act alone, and issued these laws. They met with approval from the members of the People's Assembly, who are now setting out a plan to approve them rapidly.

AL-TADAMUN: Some people have observed, from photographs of the act of destroying the liquor, that you were breaking bottles as if they were sea monsters, or enemies. What is the story behind that?

President Ja'far Numayri: Perhaps this is the result of my view of alcohol, which is the greatest of vices and one of the major reasons for our backwardness. Perhaps this is the reason colonialism encouraged it. Even the leading colonial figures indicated that it was wholesome.

And Restrictions on Smoking

AL-TADAMUN: In the context of further guidance, could the situation reach the point where the phenomenon of smoking, which is widespread throughout the Sudan, would be restricted?

President Ja'far Numayri: After we affirmed that smoking is seriously harmful to health, we started to do so. In this regard we issued a law aimed at putting pressure on smokers, for instance prohibiting smoking in public places and enclosed rooms. We raised the customs duties on it, increasing its prices. There has been an improvement in this direction, since many people have reduced the rate at which they smoke. In the future we will stop the cultivation of tobacco, in order to combat smoking.

AL-TADAMUN: On your recent decrees, specifically with regard to the prohibition on alcohol, connected to what you called in the past "upright

leadership," and your famous letter to Sudanese civilian and military officials, what were the circumstances behind the sending of this letter?

(There is a copy of this letter at the end of the interview.)

President Ja'far Numayri: The directives which I addressed earlier to leaders were part of the gradual process of arriving at a decree prohibiting alcohol in the case of all citizens, on grounds that the leaders are the models and must be examples for the people below them. This letter realized good results; the overwhelming majority of the leaders responded to it, and that encouraged me to take other steps. The leaders themselves also encouraged the sending of similar letters to their subordinates, and that met with a brilliant response.

During the act of destroying the liquor in the Nile, we observe that Christian religious figures and some other non-Moslem religious sects were in the front ranks, and they were happy with this action.

I would like to add that we have embarked on a new experience in the military forces; 31 officers of different ranks are to graduate from the Islamic Center tomorrow after a year of religious study to work as givers of sermon in mosques belonging to the armed forces. This is an experience in whose results I have confidence. It is the first one in the realm of combining military discipline and religious commitment, and the development of Islamic culture in the ranks of the military forces, to make personnel honest, sincere and moral, and have them avoid trumping up charges against people fraudulently. I can remember that President Jamal 'Abd-al-Nasir called for that sort of thing. In the Suez War of 1956, every soldier had a copy of the holy Koran, and there also was a priest in the midst of the combatants. The July revolution's first national anthem was the anthem "God is Great."

The South and Ethiopia

AL-TADAMUN: Citizens in the southern Sudan feel great appreciation for you personally. Do you expect that these decrees will cause grumbling in their ranks, because of their diversity and their own circumstances, and that they will demand that they be exempted from them?

President Ja'far Numayri: our brothers in the south do indeed honor their president, and they know me personally. I have worked with them a great deal since and have had much experience with them, and that has helped bring me closer to them.

Some long-standing politicians believe that the south could be the avenue for an invasion of the Sudan. Therefore they have acted, along with some other countries like Libya and Ethiopia, which recently joined the camp that is hostile to us, out of its belief that enmity toward Khartoum can solve its own problems in Eritrea, and therefore started to cooperate with Libya and build bases to oppose us. We have much information, but we also have the hope that Ethiopia will retreat from its position. We do not want to take a position of enmity toward Ethiopia, and we hope that it will get out of the enemy camp which it has joined, and indeed the Eastern camp in general.

Hostile elements have imagined that the recent deceases have been an opportunity to stir up the people in the south, and have unfortunately started to coordinate with some churches. They have started making it appear to the world that there is an opposition and resistance in southern circles. This is international hostility toward Islam. I cannot stop it, but I can prevent its influence in the Sudan, without fanaticism, terror or the use of force.

Tolerance, Strictness and the Reduction in Embassies

AL-TADAMUN: Concerning domestic issues, there are three points. The first is on the new climate, and whether that will make you more tolerant or strict in dealing with domestic matters. The second is related to the great reduction in the Sudan's embassies abroad, and the third concerns a ministry of the utmost delicacy and sensitivity, the Ministry of Energy, which is headed by a person who is considered to adhere to a specific political orientation.

President Ja'far Numayri: With respect to tolerance or strictness, I believe that it is the style of leadership that determines that. My style of leadership is that I rely more on my personal abilities which God has given me than on power, bills or laws. I believe that the passage of Islamic legislation itself will fail if the leader wants to use it and derive his power from it alone, because the reasons for the passage of Islamic legislation are clear. It has the goal of raising the individual and providing a deterrent for the group; we must use the punishment of the individual to provide a deterrent for the group.

I do not believe that I will be strict unless the meaning of strictness is self control. I will stop the wrongdoer where he is, so that others may take warning. Tolerance is not appropriate, either, because tolerance means laxity, and the purpose of the laws is to stop laxity.

As far as the second point goes, the reduction in the embassies was made in the context of the slogan of reducing government spending and in a framework of program and study. There are some embassies which we have reviewed, after foreign advice, such as our embassy in the emirates and Kuwait, and we have made use of diplomats and certified accountants who have come back to the Sudan.

Our foreign contacts have not been affected. Many countries appreciate our situation and have kept their embassies in the Sudan so that these may constitute a connecting link between us.

The End of the World in Lebanon

AL-TADAMUN: Don't you believe, Mr President, that the Sudan's absence in Beirut, in spite of your personal interest in what is going on there, and Baghdad, where many Sudanese live, is noteworthy?

President Ja'far Numayri: I agree with you that it is important that there be a Sudanese ambassador in every Arab country. Beirut is an important center of diplomatic activity. Our embassy functioned at the peak of the civil war and we had Sudanese forces which enjoyed the trust and confidence

of the Lebanese authorities. However, after the expanded Syrian intervention, which we had predicted, Syria started provoking our forces, five members of which were killed in sniping operations. Syria also tried to implicate our forces in a clash with the Palestinians. For that reason, we decided to withdraw our forces from Beirut in order to prevent provocation, and the Syrians proceeded to pose obstacles to our embassy until we closed it down.

More important than that, Lebanon will not be what it was once again. The scheme that is being carried out now is partition. The interests of the two great powers, the United States and the Soviet Union, in fragmenting the unity of Lebanon have coincided, and the various Lebanese forces have been influenced by the larger strategies. Unless these forces take serious steps and make great sacrifices, Lebanon will not be what it was once again.

I would like to add that the United States will not allow Syria to continue to carry out the Soviet Union's scheme until Lebanon turns into another Afghanistan. For the first time since Vietnam, American forces are firing shots in another country, which means that there is an American strategy that is going to be carried out in the area, while at the same time the Soviet Union is not going to be standing with its hands tied. If we review matters we will observe that Reagan began to change his policies even here in the Sudan. When al-Qadhdhafi tried to go into Chad to strike at the Sudan, America took a firm position and that stopped al-Qadhdhafi's attempts.

In Lebanon, the danger lies in the real confrontation between the Soviet Union and America, which, if it explodes, will bring on the end of the world. The issue of Lebanon has become an international one, like the Balkans. If a clash occurs between the Americans and the Soviets, the disaster will be a general one.

AL-TADAMUN: This is a serious point, one which is being presented in this light for the first time. Could you explain it in a little detail, Mr President?

President Ja'far Numayri: It is necessary to understand the strategy behind the war in Lebanon. The United States is intervening overtly and the Soviets understand the meaning of responding to provocation. I can explain some of the Syrian retreat, the position of Israel, which is watching what is going on, and the silence of the other countries. The issue has become indeed a severe confrontation between the two great powers. Let me add that the American deployment forces have changed. They no longer are a small unit; rather, they contain a large portion of the American army. In addition, it is not a coincidence that McFarlane, an expert on the situation in Lebanon, is the new national security advisor in America. The secretary of defense, and all Reagan's advisors, are among the strongest proponents of standing firm in the face of the Soviet Union. On the other hand, the Soviet Union has supplied Syria with the most modern weapons. This confrontation is not in the Arabs' interests because they are fragmented. Where is Egypt, where is Iraq, where is Syria and where is Saudi Arabia? Saudi Arabia can play a big part, but where are the united decisions?

In my opinion, America is serious about coming up with a peaceful solution, even though I know that this will anger some people and they will say that Numayri is a friend of the Americans. America is convinced that the Arab market is open to it and the Arabs are still America's biggest customer, Libya included. Efforts are being made by America to have this situation continue, and I am continuing to call for an attempt to merge the Arab plan for the Arab cause (the Fez summit) with the American plan.

The Arabs must start to do something positive to prevent a final confrontation between the major strategies and press America to put greater pressure on Israel to leave Lebanon while we Arabs put pressure on Syria to leave Lebanon. I believe that Saudi Arabia, the Sudan, Egypt, Iraq, the emirates, Jordan and Morocco must unite in order to put pressure on Syria to stop this scheme and create a solution. This is just an evaluation; I do not have a ready-made plan to recommend. Rather, I have told King Fahd that he should think about postponing the coming summit, because the issues still are not ready to be resolved.

Intelligent Leadership and the Issue of the Ambassador

AL-TADAMUN: From this analysis, it appears that the problem of Egypt is not the basic issue.

President Ja'far Numayri: Some people are asking Egypt to disavow Camp David, that is, [saying that] Sinai should go back to Israel. However, are the Arab countries prepared to support Egypt militarily in the event of war, and does Egypt have a chance to obtain arms? Where from?

AL-TADAMUN: There is a scenario for blocking the road off for once and for all, for instance, by having President Husni Mubarak demand that the Arab countries decide to eliminate the agreement with Israel, with the attendant results of that. What is your opinion on this?

President Ja'far Numayri: On the basis of previous experience, there is a gap between words and their meanings in Arab resolutions. This is the problem. Some people do not fully realize what meanings words contain, or they are not interested. I have often sent letters to certain brothers who agreed with me completely about them, then took positions that were different.

The leadership in Egypt is very intelligent, because, when it withdrew its ambassador from Tel Aviv, it did not expel the Israeli ambassador from Cairo. Israel would like its ambassador to be expelled. President Husni Mubarak told me that provocations had been made so that the Israeli ambassador would be expelled. According to the Geneva agreement, if a country withdraws its ambassador from another country, that country has the right to withdraw its own ambassador. Israel does not want to use this right but does want its ambassador to be expelled, in order to fill the world with an uproar and use that against the Arabs.

AL-TADAMUN: Is this matter clear to officials in Saudi Arabia?

President Ja'far Numayri: King Fahd is extremely aware politically, and his moves in the area are positive and aimed at achieving Arab solidarity. I

cannot say that that is not clear to Saudi Arabia, because it fully understands the Arab situation.

AL-TADAMUN: Where does Egypt stand on the coming Arab summit?

President Ja'far Numayri: What I can say is that 90 percent of the Arab countries assuredly are eager for Egypt to return to Arab ranks, but they are sticking tenaciously to a procedural problem, which is that the resolution must be taken collectively, as the boycott resolution was taken in Baghdad. I do not believe that that is necessary; warm relations link many of these countries to Egypt.

AL-TADAMUN: Is it possible, through a restoration of bilateral relations, for Egypt to be brought back?

President Numayri: Yes, and very quickly. Egypt does not adamantly insist on sending Egyptian ambassadors, because it has hundreds of ambassadors in every country.

AL-TADAMUN: What is the latest news on President Husni Mubarak's visit to Iraq?

President Ja'far Numayri: They are making preparations for a visit for him. I believe that a visit to Iraq will give him desired support in this stage the area is going through. This is one of the good points of Husni Mubarak, who has in no way ceased to support Iraq, in spite of what he has taken from some Arabs.

The Three-Country Tour

AL-TADAMUN: Could you talk to us about your coming tour, which will comprise Italy, France and the United States, and the subjects it will include in the political context?

President Ja'far Numayri: I hope that the Sudan will derive many benefits from the tour, politically and economically. In the course of it, we will seek to explain our views on many issues which concern us, especially the abyss of tension that surrounds us, the Arab cause, and the developments that involve it. We will also explain our Islamic orientation and its repercussions on our economic dealings, since we have forbidden usury in banks, and therefore the delegation accompanying me will engage in extensive media activity in this direction.

In America, in addition to these issues, I will concentrate on the issue of development in our country. I will present a large joint plan for Egypt and ourselves to officials there, and I have made preparations for that. We will then present the Maruwa reservoir plan, which is a very large reservoir, no smaller than the High Dam. Egypt will also benefit from it, because the High Dam is no longer meeting its needs. Its cost is about \$250 million, and it will provide additional water for Egypt and the Sudan as well as generating about 600 megawatts of electric power. It is an integration project. President Mubarak has presented it to President Reagan, and declared to him that I will be bringing further details.

Al-Tuhani Is a Devoted Son

AL-TADAMUN: There remains my question on the minister of energy, Dr Sharif al-Tuhani, and how this sort of sensitive position was assigned to him although he belongs to a specific political group.

President Ja'far Numayri: When I give my confidence to a given person, I give him my full confidence. Some people criticize me for this conduct, but my evaluation is that I should withhold confidence only from people who confirm that they do not deserve it.

Dr Sharif al-Tuhani is a competent man. He is basically a geologist, and worked in the Department of Geology. The communists threw him out at the start of the revolution. He is a member of the al-Ansar, but he has not plotted against the Sudan and has not allied himself with Libya. That is one of the reasons why we chose him for the ministry.

When al-Sadiq al-Mahdi tried to press Dr Sharif al-Tuhani to leave the ministry, and Dr 'Abd-al-Hamid Salih, the vice chairman of the People's Assembly, to leave the assembly, I told both that I had not chosen them as representatives of a political organization, that that was something whose time had ended. Dr al-Tuhani told me that he had informed al-Sadiq al-Mahdi that he appreciated the responsibility that had been assigned to him and appreciated my confidence in him, since he was totally in charge of carrying out the work in it and was signing most important agreements for the country.

Thus Dr al-Tuhani remained in the ministry, with my confidence, of his own choice. He is an honest, devoted man. After giving the oath in my presence, he no longer belonged to any other organization.

My evaluation of people is not dependent on reports, since there are no barriers between me and other persons, and I appreciate competence and devotion in people.

For example, I appointed Dr Mansur Khalid, who was accused of loving the British and colonialism, and whom some people said was "Anglo-Sudanese," minister of youth in the first cabinet in May 1969, because I found that he was the most suitable person for that position. He worked with me after he became acquainted with our goals, and some people volunteered to speak to me about him, but I was convinced of his devotion to the Sudan and his organizational ability, which I also relied on in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the president's office. When Dr Mansur started to act without my permission, I told him goodbye.

In brief, Dr al-Tuhani is a competent and devoted man, and I have confidence in him.

AL-TADAMUN: Does that mean that he is a devoted son?

President Numayri: He is that.

No Imamate from Now on

AL-TADAMUN: Would you allow the al-Ansar to have an imam?

President Ja'far Numayri: There will be no imamate from now on, but that will not mean that there cannot be a learned imam from among the religious thinkers, though not as the al-Ansar conceive of it. Imam al-Ghazali was an imam on the basis of his knowledge and religious jurisprudence.

AL-TADAMUN: What I also mean is, would it be possible for you, through the Islamic program you have carried out, to become Imam Ja'far?

President Ja'far Numayri: It is not proper that the imamate should be founded on the ruler, because he should not deprive others of it, at a time when there are many religious thinkers. I do not believe that the time has come for us to designate an imam, in this era specifically, in a country of Moslems. In Iran, for example, it has assumed a different meaning.

This sort of change also requires radical amendments to the constitution and reference to the charter conference of the Sudanese Socialist Union, which approved of such a regime as a presidential republic.

Text of President Ja'far Numayri's Letter to His Ministers and Senior Government Officials on Abstaining from Taking Alcohol

In the name of God, the most merciful and all-compassionate:

1. Alif, lam, mim.

2. This is the Book; in it is guidance sure, without doubt, to those who fear God;

3. Who believe in the unseen, are steadfast in prayer, and spend out of what We have provided for them;

4. And who believe in the Revelation sent to thee, and sent before thy time, and (in their hearts) have the assurance of the Hereafter;

5. They are on (true) guidance, from their Lord, and it is these who will prosper.

[Chapter Two of the Koran, Verses 1-5]

O my Lord! so order me that I may be grateful for Thy favors, which Thou hast bestowed on my and on my parents, and that I may work the righteousness that will please Thee: and admit me, by Thy Grace, to the ranks of Thy Righteous Servants.

[Chapter 27, Verse 19]

God's prophet, on whom be prayers and peace, said:

"The inanimate was revealed in the coasts of men's hearts, and they they learned from the Koran, and then from the sayings and doings of the prophet."

The miraculous comprehensiveness of Islam as a religion and a belief is embodied in its grasp of the religious laws and religions that came before it and its acknowledgment of prophetic missions which prophets and messengers of God had propagated.

However, although the comprehensiveness of Islam grasped what came before, it was, in text and in essence, all-encompassing and prohibited additions which would detract from its principles, without restrictions on independent thinking within the framework of the Koran and the sayings and doings of the prophet, regarding the rules the illiterate prophet (on whom be God's prayers and peace) codified as a platform for his life and a program for his rule, which are to be considered a legacy for the people who bear the inanimate in every time and place.

The inanimate, in the platform and program of the prophet (on whom be God's prayers and peace), was similar to a model and example as regards the ideals he adopted for himself.

He rebelled against the heritage when he disdained the worship of idols, in their concrete sense, like stones which did not do harm or good, and their social sense, in that they were considered symbols which differed and did not form a coherent whole. Through his rebellion, his appeal and his holy war, he was a liberation of man's will from the fetters of narrow affiliation toward brotherhood in God, in affection and mercy, where bonds among people are a duty and a religious obligation.

The inanimate, in the platform and program of the prophet (on whom be God's prayers and peace), was what people found from it.

He did not treat people's rights disdainfully, did not argue over folly, did not support the strong because of their strength or seek to make the weak weak because of their weakness, but rather was the partisan of the strong so that he could derive what was just from them, just as he was the support of the weak so that he could derive what was just for them. Love, in his law, was not a synonym of partiality. He preferred his nation over his tribe, and preferred his people over himself. He saw no virtue in Arab over Persian except through piety and did not distinguish among people for the nobility of their race or the genuineness of their origins, the extensiveness of their livelihood or the abundance of their wealth. Rather, people, to him, were equal as the teeth of a comb in terms of what they received and what was taken from them.

Then the inanimate in the platform and program of the prophet (on whom be God's prayers and peace) was what people found in it.

He was generous, merciful, chaste in speech, upright in conduct, just in judgment, decisive in judgment, true to his promise, faithful to his promise, humble without being base, strong without bluster, tolerant without

negligence, and repressive of his own whims, and did not rebuke his subjects except for things which were beneath what he rebuked himself for. He did not monopolize spoils, and did not covet what he did not deserve. He advanced only for the sake of wisdom and retreated only for the sake of wisdom. He did not disdain advice, was not above consultation, reviewed himself before he held others to account, and did not deal with lapses that were attributed to him disdainfully or litigiously but rebuked himself for them in the manner of one who was regretful of them.

These are contemplations about the life of a prophet who bore the trust and bore the consequences of it, fought himself before he fought for his mission, and triumphed for a nation which before him had been fragmented and dispersed.

Through what he alluded to, he supported thought about the creation of heaven and earth, and ourselves, as an approach toward the bearing of trust, the trust of belief in the orders which the laws and closest of religions had given, the trust of the shepherd who is responsible for his flock, not with what he aspired to from it but in what he represented for the flock, as a model and example in terms of conduct and morality.

If we are beneath the prophet in terms of status and position, that is not an excuse for us to read his platform and program, the most virtuous prayers and peace be upon him, by considering it a hoped for consummation of what our spirits are rebuked for, before we rebuke people for failing to achieve it.

I have spread the message more than once that a public person is public property.

I have also given notice more than once that leadership is a position which is closely watched for accountability and chastisement, for negligence in performance and for groping toward personal property, if it is marred by lapses or errors, because mistakes, with respect to leaders, in terms of their conduct, are mistakes on the basis of what they reflect and what they allude to, in terms of the people below them, since those errors are a consummation of and not a diminution of what they have achieved.

Trust is indivisible, because chastity of speech, cleanliness of hands, awareness of conscience, purity of spirit, clarity of thought, and competence of performance are all attributes which are integrated among leaders that are able to bear trust and endure its consequences, and the absence of any of them is a diminution of ability and a distortion of the example which leaders must set, no matter how sincere their intentions might be and how great their efforts might become.

Since I have the strength of a human, I will not presume judgment over the latent qualities of the spirit and what it hides and conceals. I will not be neutral with respect to what is obvious and tangible, and therefore I will not make any excuses for myself, from now on, if I observe deviations in the conduct of people who assist me, because I will not be able to confront [them] with forgiveness and litigation. Therefore the choice facing Moslem leaders is:

Either to be able to overcome the whims of their own spirit, or to be so courageous as to request resignation.

In the coming 2 weeks, there will be a period of time for thinking and making preparations over two choices, other than which there is no alternative:

Either the promise and pledge to avoid alcohol and its equivalents, and the shortcomings that are less serious than those, or a request to be excused, which I will accept and appreciate, from participating in bearing the trust and bearing its responsibilities.

After receiving the response, but not before, I will act as an eye which is watching over those who are true to the pledge and those who break the promise, and I will be the proponent of the former while to the latter I will be honest with my belief, my people and my conscience and will put them where they wish to be, far away from the trust and the bearing of trust. God guides whom he wishes.

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SUDAN

DECLINE IN KHARTOUM'S ELECTRICITY, OTHER SERVICES DISCUSSED

Riyadh AL-RIYAD in Arabic 3 Sep 83 p 21

[Article by Ja'far al-Rababi: "Sudan: Electricity Crisis Generates 'More Than One Crisis'; Reasons: Inadequate Technical Operation Due to Natural Seasonal Obstacles and Drop in Production of Thermal Plants"]

[Text] Sudan's citizens are experiencing a severe crisis in the supply of electricity. For more than 10 days, entire quarters with high population density in Khartoum and a number of provincial capitals have been without any electricity and there are no signs of any imminent improvement in the situation. This crisis has generated yet more severe side effects that have intensified the daily hardships of the citizens, including, for example, the total unavailability of drinking water in some areas where electrically operated water elevation pumps are used, a shortage of bread supplies due to the closing of some bakeries and a flourishing black market for ice, which has become completely unavailable at the shops where it is sold officially, with the price of a block of ice in some cases reaching a full 8 pounds. This is an astronomical price never known before, not even in the month of Ramadan, which this year coincided with the peak of the summer season.

This crisis has been recurring annually during the Blue Nile flooding season, which renders power turbines in al-Rusayris and Sannar Dams inoperative as a result of the silt, wood and weeds carried by the rivers and the tributaries and which block the sluices to the turbines. The maximum capacity of al-Rusayris Dam plant is 120 megawatts, which drop to 20-30 megawatts according to the quantity of silt deposited and the progress of the cleanup operations that continue throughout the day. The National Electricity Authority mobilizes teams of workers and technicians to keep an eye on the situation and to do all they can to eliminate the obstructions. But the results do not meet requirements because the natural elements override man's efforts. The National Electricity Authority was supposed to avoid this year's disruptions by building a backup plant for which it had concluded a \$4-million contract providing for the plant to be built behind the sluices to the turbines, especially since the design and engineering specifications of this plant had been agreed on with U.S. experts more than a year ago. It is believed that it was practically impossible to manufacture, ship and install the needed equipment before this year's flood.

In addition to the production of al-Rusayris Dam plant, there is the production of the Sannar Dam turbines plant, which amounts to no less than 50 megawatts, of which only 7.8 megawatts are currently available, plus 12 megawatts from the gas turbines plants, 11.5 megawatts from Barri thermal plant and 2.5 megawatts from the Wad Madani plant. Altogether this is poor production that cannot meet the urgent needs at present, considering that the national electricity network has only 63.4 megawatts available to it out of the total energy that is supposed to meet public needs of 185 megawatts at a minimum.

An official source of the National Authority has called for rationalizing the consumption of currently available energy and for reducing ostentatious lighting. He has expressed the hope that this crisis will disappear as soon as possible, pointing out the efforts being exerted by the engineers, technicians and workers of the authority and of the Ministry of Agriculture and Irrigation to remove the silt blocking the turbine plants. It is hoped that the new Barri thermal plant, which can generate 40 megawatts, will be put into operation. This plant was scheduled to go into operation last week but some technical difficulties delayed its inauguration. Officials concerned are exerting maximum efforts to overcome the technical problems encountered by the new plant and to put it into operation at the earliest opportunity so as to confront the crisis that has persisted for so long.

On the other hand, companies and business establishments and a number of government agencies and capable citizens have resorted to independent solutions by acquiring private generators that are put into operation as soon as they experience an unannounced power outage. It has become a familiar sight to see a power generator in front of a business establishment or company in the center of the Sudanese capital, with all the annoying noise these generators produce when they are started up as soon as public power is interrupted. This noise makes exchanges among people in those places like a conversation of the deaf. This is in addition to the harmful emissions of these generators, which pollute the air, which is hot to start with, and are incompatible with environmental health. Moreover, the use of these generators drains the meager oil derivatives that the state acquires only with difficulty and for which it allocates a considerable part of its foreign currency reserves.

The fact is, as indicated by technical studies, that Sudan can produce electrical energy that exceeds its needs at extremely low cost ideally by utilizing resources available to it at existing waterfalls. The production capacity of al-Rusayris Dam plant can be increased. This plant in its initial years of operation in the 1960's produced enough electricity to induce the authorities to electrify the countryside. All the villages of the central province were supplied with electricity and the country's capital was supplied with more electricity than it needed. Power outages, which were rare at any time of the day, even for a few hours, have now become a chain, some of whose links go on for days. Consideration was only recently given to building backup plants and equipment. What is said of al-Rusayris can also be said of Sannar plant. These two plants can supply the country with low-cost energy that meets the major part of the country's needs by focusing on technical supervision and constant maintenance and by modernizing the two plants the way similar plants in advanced countries have been modernized.

KHARTOUM WATER SUPPLY PROBLEMS IN WAKE OF FLOODING DESCRIBED

Khartoum AL-SAHFAH in Arabic 28 Aug 83 p 5

[Letter to the editor: "Facts and Figures Concerning Khartoum Water Supply"]

[Text] Chief editor of AL-SAHFAH:

AL-SAHFAH has raised numerous questions about the water service. We cite in particular what the paper published in its edition No 7482 of 13 August 1983 on "turbid water" and the accompanying interpretations and explanations. I beg you to permit me to point out the following facts:

Yes, the Blue Nile is one of the few rivers in the world whose current carries a large amount of silt. It is well known that the waters of the Blue Nile drop from tremendous elevations from Lake Tana in Ethiopia. This steep drop causes the river to carry enormous quantities of silt, sediments and other elements, all of which it pushes on its way. This results in the destruction and erosion of the banks along the course of the river. Naturally, this increases the matter suspended in the water. The rapid flow of the river and the silt suspended in its water reduce the volume of minerals contained in the water, such as nitrates, that pose a danger to human health, especially to pregnant women.

The Blue Nile experienced unusually severe flooding this year and its percentage of silt amounted to 75, compared with no more than 45 percent in 1958 and 50 percent in previous years. If we compare other rivers of the world, they don't contain as much silt and foreign bodies as our water. The reason is that the sources of most of these rivers are springs and melting snow. An example is Barada River in Syria, which flows from a small spring no more than 1-6 meters wide. Europe's rivers flow across spaces that are relatively free of obstructions and sediments and, consequently, do not carry as much silt and sediment as the Blue Nile.

This does not mean that there are no such elements in European rivers. But these elements are the result of industrial waste, as in the case of the Thames and the Rhine Rivers. Fortunately, our rivers carry only natural waste.

The silt phenomenon is fundamentally a seasonal one that comes in the flood season. The volume and type of silt is determined by the speed and the force of the river's current, along with the rise in the river water level near the city of Khartoum. With the force and speed of the river's current, erosion and deterioration of the river banks occurs, and this causes suspended matter to appear. An example is what happened in 1958, when the silt rate amounted to 17,000 light units, and in 1976, when it amounted to 15,000 light units, compared with 19,900 light units in 1983. On those occasions, the water purification plants in the national capital were subjected to a large increase in the degree of turbidity and laboratory tests proved that the situation could not be remedied through the conventional process of chemical sedimentation, not even when half a kilogram of (alum sulfide) is added to each cubic meter of water, which is the highest amount that can be added while keeping the water fit for consumption.

As already pointed out, the percentage of silt, sediment and suspended matter this year was 75, compared with 45 percent in 1958. We have not stood idle in the face of this problem. We have sent samples of our water to the (Fluke) Laboratory in Britain and the (Tako) Laboratory in Italy and their response was:

"The quality of this water cannot be treated chemically through the addition of more lime, alum or chlorine."

It is important to note here that there are scientific percentages and standards approved by the WHO to treat water turbidity and we adhere strictly to these percentages and standards.

The water purification plants in the national capital have been designed to deal with the river's raw water, containing a degree of turbidity of 8,000 units. The excess silt this year raised this content to 24,000 units, and this is why, in the face of this sudden situation, the plants have been unable to cope with the enormous quantity of silt and other suspended matter and impurities.

Consequently, the load on the elevation pumps and the filters exceeded their designed capacity threefold, and this has posed the threat of the collapse and full stoppage of the filtration and purification system. As a result, we deemed it necessary to resort to Ministry of Health authorities, and it was decided to pump reasonable quantities of water and to establish a proper balance between quantity and quality, and this is what has happened. The National Health Laboratory has declared and the Central Water Laboratory has expressed the opinion that turbidity in drinking water poses no threat to people's health. There has been laboratory follow-up by the Khartoum Water Authority and by Ministry of Health authorities to make sure that the water is free of any intestinal germs, and this is what is important.

Continuing its efforts to supply the citizens' needs for clean drinking water, the Khartoum Province Authority is devoting special attention to this

issue and is preparing the necessary studies in cooperation with the local and international agencies concerned in order to eliminate this seasonal phenomenon.

As for those who want to mislead the people by saying that the problem in its entirety is the result of a lack of purification materials, such as alum, they are people who are not aware of the facts and figures, which show that there are in the authority's warehouses 6.25 million kilograms of alum, enough for the authority's needs for 13 months to come, not to mention other substances. These materials are being delivered in stages and are sufficient to meet our needs for the coming years.

Mr chief editor of AL-SAHAFAH,

In conclusion I wish to stress again the eagerness of the authority to develop, enhance and rectify the water service in order to eliminate negative aspects and obstacles to progress in our overall work.

Concluding, I should not forget to laud the fraternal media and press people who have devoted their resources to explaining the facts to the people in an unbiased, honest, objective, responsible and capable manner.

"And say work and God, His prophet and the faithful shall see your work."

God is always true.

Shaddad 'Ali al-Khayr,
[General Director]

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CSO: 4504/2

NEW LEGAL PROVISIONS DEEMED CONSISTENT WITH ISLAMIC TEACHINGS

Khartoum AL-AYYAM in Arabic 23 Oct 83 p 12

[Article by Salah Habib: "Director of the Department of Missionary Activity and Religious Guidance Says, 'The Prohibition against Alcohol Is Consistent With the Teachings of Islam Whose Aim Is To Establish a Strong and Capable Character' "]

[Text] "Believers, wine and games of chance, idols and divining arrows, are abominations devised by Satan. Avoid them, so that you may prosper. Satan seeks to stir up enmity and hatred among you by means of wine and gambling, and to keep you from the remembrance of Allah and from your prayers. Will you not abstain from them?" [al-Ma'idah: 90-91]. Ibn 'Abbas, may God be pleased with him, reported that the Prophet, may God bless him and grant him salvation, said, "Avoid alcohol: it is the key to all evil." The Prophet, may God bless him and grant him salvation said, "He who drinks alcohol in this life and does not repent will not drink thereof in the hereafter, even if he were admitted into paradise."

The Islamic awakening in Sudan, which has been led by President Ja'far Muhammad Numayri did not emerge from a vacuum. It came after in-depth studies were made and because everything that would contribute to such an awakening was present. A Muslim who had visited Sudan some time ago had predicted that Sudan was suitable for applying the canonical law of Islam because of the Islamic qualities that can be found in it: generosity, courage, gallantry and adherence to religion.

While conducting a survey about the application of legal punishments, we met with the clergy. They talked to us about the application of legal punishments to those who commit sinful deeds [such as] consuming alcohol and committing adultery and theft.

His Eminence, Our Lord Muhammad Babakr Muhammad Sa'id, director of the Department of Missionary Activity and Religious Guidance in the Supreme Council for Religious Affairs and Religious Trusts explained that the prohibition against alcohol was consistent with the teachings of Islam whose aim is to establish a strong character in the body, soul and mind [of each Muslim]. There is no doubt that alcohol weakens a person's character and destroys its components, particularly the mind. If a person's mind goes, that person turns into a vagrant animal who becomes the source of endless evil and corruption. Among the effects of such evil are murder, aggression, divulging secrets and treason.

Scholars of jurisprudence agree on the punishment for drinking alcohol. They agree that the punishment for one who drinks alcohol should be lashing. But they differ on how many lashes the offender should get. Followers of the Hanafi school and Imam Malik are of the opinion that an offender is to receive 80 lashes. Imam al-Shafi'i is of the opinion that an offender is to receive 40 lashes. As far as Imam Ahmad ibn Hanbal is concerned, there are two stories: according to one story the punishment for an offender was to be 80 lashes, [but] there is another story in which the punishment was to be 40 lashes. The prophet, may God bless him and grant him salvation, gave offenders 40 lashes. This was what was done by the first caliph, Abu Bakr al-Siddiq and by Imam 'Ali ibn Abu Talib. But 'Umar ibn al-Khattab used to give a strong man who overindulged in alcohol 80 lashes and a weak man who had only one offense 40 lashes. This punishment is confirmed by one of two matters: first, the offender's acknowledgement, which is a confession that he drank alcohol, or the testimony of two persons of good reputation. Just as alcohol is prohibited in Islam, it is also prohibited in Christianity. We can say that all intoxicants are prohibited in all the divine books.

As far as theft is concerned, Our Lord Muhammad Babakr explained that Islam respects property in so far as it is the ganglion of life. "Islam respects private ownership of property, and it makes individuals' right to own property a sacred right which may not be infringed upon in any way. Therefore, Islam has prohibited theft, fraud, embezzlement, treason, usury, deception and tampering with weights and measures. Islam considers all property acquired by means other than legitimate means to be property acquired in vain. Islam has been very strict in dealing with theft, requiring that the thief's hand, the hand that committed the theft, be cut off. The wisdom of this punishment is evident, for a treacherous hand is like a diseased member of a body that must be amputated to keep [the rest of] the body sound. A part must be sacrificed for the whole. All laws and discerning minds have agreed on this principle. Also cutting off the hand of a thief is a lesson to anyone who might contemplate the theft of other people's property. Such a person would not dare to steal. Thus, property would be preserved and safeguarded. God Almighty said, 'As for the man or woman who is guilty of theft, cut off their hands to punish them for their crimes' [al-Ma'idah: 38]. God is Mighty and Wise.

"The prophet, may God bless him and grant him salvation said, 'Cursed by the thief whose hand would be cut off for stealing an egg, a [piece of] rope and a camel.' "

Our Lord Muhammad Babakr went on to say, "The decisions [issued by] President Ja'far Muhammad Numayri on grave offenses, such as drinking alcohol, gambling, theft, adultery, slander and all other reprehensible actions, and [his determination] to put an end to these offenses in the Islamic society of Sudan are clear, unambiguous indications that the president, who was entrusted by the people whose valuable confidence he has, is a Muslim believer who is carrying out on earth the rules and the laws of God Almighty. God Almighty said, 'Believers, if you help Allah, Allah will help you and make you strong' [Muhammad: 7]. Hence, I cite the poet who wrote, 'Time took an oath and swore that he would produce something similar, but you broke your oath, O Time, and faith was lost.'

"I pray God Almighty that He make the president succeed in [his efforts] to serve Islam and Muslims."

Regarding the role the Department of Missionary Activity and Religious Guidance will play [in implementing] the president's decisions, a directive was issued to all male and female advisers and instructors in all parts of the country. They were directed to make citizens aware of the harmful effects of indulging in these reprehensible actions. Religious guides and advisers [were instructed] to make citizens recognize the social, economic, physical and psychological detriment of these reprehensible actions.

His Eminence, Our Lord Muhammad al-Hadi al-Amin also spoke to us. He is the acting secretary general of the Supreme Council for Religious Affairs and Religious Trusts. His eminence talked about the punishment for adultery and explained that the punishment for an unmarried person found guilty of fornication was 100 lashes. He said that the punishment could not be made more severe or more lenient. He said the punishment was to be inflicted in the presence of a group of believers. God Almighty said, "The adulterer and the adulteress shall each be given a hundred lashes. Let no pity for them cause you to disobey Allah, if you truly believe in Allah and the Last Day" [al-Nur: 2].

For a chaste person, either a married man or a married woman, the punishment for adultery is to be stoned to death. Adultery is established by one of two matters: an acknowledgement [by the offender], which is a confession, and that is something that the prophet, may God bless him and grant him salvation, accepted when he accepted the confessions of Ma'iz and al-Famwayh. Adultery is also established by witnesses. Accusing someone of adultery is very detrimental to a man and a woman. They are ruined by such an accusation; they lose their dignity, and they and their families are put to shame. Therefore, Islam was strict in [its requirements for] establishing this crime so as to preclude reckless accusations of innocent people. Therefore, Islam set a condition that there be four witnesses to the crime. If one of those witnesses is one-eyed, his testimony is discounted.

Anyone who accuses another of adultery and does not come up with four witnesses [to prove his accusation], becomes guilty of slander. His punishment is 80 lashes.

The Islamic decisions that were called for by the president are wise and fortunate decisions. They will give the country a strong push forward and will provide it with the means of advancement and progress in all economic, cultural and spiritual areas.

A country that makes the Koran its law and the Tradition of the prophet its guiding model must certainly enjoy prosperity, peace of mind, stability and peace just as our earliest ancestors did. Only what was good in the earliest days of this nation is good for it in these latter days. Foremost among these good qualities is adherence to the laws of God in matters of worship, of government and business.

We thank God for assisting our president in taking this blessed, courageous step to carry out the laws of God. We thank God that He made our president bold and fearless in his obedience to the commands and the rules of God. "Had the people of those cities believed and kept from evil, We would have showered upon them the riches of heaven and earth. But they denied their apostles, and We punished them for their misdeeds" [al-A'raf: 96].

We pray God that He help our colleagues, the judges, apply these statutes with the same courage and boldness with which the president enacted them. They are now administering the punishments that God has decreed, and they are entrusted with the task of applying those punishments. God will hold them accountable for the judgments they will render under His authority. It is a fair judge who will be protected by God on that day when there is no other protection but His.

2011

QUR: 4:112

PROBLEM OF DEVELOPING ARABIC ALPHABET TO FIT MODERN TECHNOLOGY DISCUSSED

Khartoum AL-SAHFAH in Arabic 25 Aug 83 p 7

[Article by 'Abbas Mustafa Sadiq: "Toward Developing Arabic Alphabet; Writing Problems First"]

[Text] Writing about problems of the Arabic alphabet seem strange. The beauty found in the Arabic alphabet and the creativity in inscribing it distracts attention from studying this alphabet according to the observed rules, such as the rules of printing. The problems of this alphabet stem fundamentally from the flaws in its design. They are problems that range from the difficulty of reading this alphabet to the problems of feeding it to the printing presses. These problems limit the dissemination of Arabic. Ahmad al-Akhdar Ghazal, Arabic alphabet expert at the Arabization Coordination Center in Rabat, says: "Reading Arabic in its present form is like puzzle solving, which requires profound thought to unlock the meaning and to get information and knowledge from a means that is accessible only to those who have spent many years mastering the language to a degree that enables them to gain such information and knowledge."

The problem is primarily an educational one. The teaching and dissemination of Arabic does not attain the level attained by Latin. The Arab child encounters hardship and difficulty at the outset of his study of Arabic for reasons that range from the multiplicity of images for the same letter to the difficulty of reproducing the letter and linking it to other letters. This process takes a long time, time that could be saved by finding the proper answers to these problems. A learner of the Arabic alphabet faces several difficulties, such as the multiplicity and various shapes of the same letter and the difficulty of dictation, spelling and vowelizing. These difficulties stem from:

1. The language itself and the grammatical rules that demand this vowelizing.
2. Letters that do not possess the requirements of vowelizing. Consequently, it is difficult for such letters to meet the language's phonetic requirements and to represent the language accurately and faithfully. We are not concerned here with the phonetic image, i.e., the rules of the language. What concerns us is the shape and level of this image. As we have already said, the basis of the educational problem lies in printing the letter and in

dotting the word. Instead of being able to teach the letter in an hour or a day, it takes several stages to learn the letter according to its shape in various parts of the word and according to its grammatical position. By simple calculation, we find that the letter has 4 positions in the word and 8 grammatical positions. The letter thus takes 32 different shapes, 4 of them fundamental. If we multiply this number by the 28 symbols representing the Arabic alphabet, we find that the result is too great to absorb.

Let us discuss the issue of vowelizing in the language. As we have said, letters do not represent the [short] vowels. Vowel symbols [al-harakat] represent short vowels and are, as is well known, an element of morphology showing the root of the word and an element of syntax demonstrating the function of the word. The syntactical element is acoustical and can be memorized through repetition and persistence. For example, the 'ayn in the word (la'iba) is vowelized with a (kasrah) and the dad in (daraba) is vowelized with a (fathah). The grammatical element changes according to the function of the word. People with an ordinary education can pronounce the word according to its grammatical position without the presence of the short vowels.

Dr Taha Husayn says: "It is utterly foolish and totally ignorant to ask the common people to comprehend well so that they can read and write better. On the contrary, we should start with reading."

Letter Is Obstacle

Since the invention of printing, the printed Latin letter [words illegible] and the printed form has been separated from the calligraphic form, thus making it possible to use a very limited number of letter shifts. Even though there are eight symbols, as in Arabic, they have special shifts attached to the letter. I am not about to embark on a comparison here because what I am concerned with is the Arabic letter itself.

Professor Ahmad al-Akhdar says that most of what our writing is faulted for stems from comparing it with Latin writing. Printed Arabic reflects the (handwritten) letter that, despite its beauty, is not up to this task because it bears all the design faults I have already mentioned. Therefore, the printed Arabic letter is not formed according to the rules of printing but rather follows the motion of the hand and of inherited visual aesthetic considerations, such as varying aesthetic forms, soft designs, multiplicity of circular shapes and so forth.

The fundamental shapes of Arabic are 108, and this large number is a burden to a manually operated printing press. For example, if we want to print a vowelized text, a major effort and much time are required because the slots in a magazine number 226. This problem also exists in the Arabic typewriter, which cannot type a vowelized text. The number of the typewriter's keys is 47, each capable of reproducing 2 shapes, the total number of shapes amounting to 94 (the Latin typewriter has 44 keys and the difference between the two typewriters is obvious). What further saddles the typewriter and the big modern typesetting machines is the presence of the apostrophe in addition to the original 24 letters. The apostrophe represents an additional burden and

is written according to dictation rules, assuming 12 shapes that perform a grammatical and dictational role. The apostrophe takes different shapes at the beginning, middle and end of the word and at the beginning of the line. Added to these are four functional letters, namely: The rounded (ta'), the final (ha') and the vowelized (alif). The level of the printed letters is also affected by the rule of cursive writing. All letters are joined to each other from the right but not the left and the word is concluded with the shape of the letter with which it ends. This written connection is copied from the handwritten calligraphy and has become a part of the letters. There is another impractical characteristic in the letter, namely, its (kasah), which is similar in some letters and different in others. This characteristic is the result of the aesthetic development of the Arabic letter and has no practical significance. Rather it represents a design obstacle and a technical obstacle in printing and leads to discordance and fragmentation of the printed copy.

The lack of an alphabet adjusted to meet printing needs requires by necessity a large number of different symbols. At least 117 symbols are needed to print a text, not to mention the rule of cursive writing, the numbers, the vowels, the periods and so forth. Printing presses now in use contain 90-120 symbols, a number that exceeds by far the number of basic letters.

It has become clear to us that the problem is no more than the problem of the language and of letter forms. Regardless of the problems of the language, language is a number of sounds that people have become accustomed to using and language has become an axiom distinguishing peoples from each other. The alphabet must represent the language faithfully. But the letters representing the [Arabic] language have multiplied and this has led to a multiplicity of shifts [al-maharif] and, consequently, to a large degree of subservience to the alphabet and to old and modern printing presses. This problem and the problems pertaining to the design of the basic letter are being now studied by numerous circles in the arab homeland and throughout the world. Before we review the results that have emerged, we will discuss the possibility of the Arab alphabet being absorbed by computers and electronic calculators. It is a known fact that this equipment has been developed in non-Arab societies. Consequently, the development of this equipment has been designed primarily to serve these societies. Thus, the problem of programming this equipment with the Arabic alphabet or of modifying this alphabet to serve the equipment has emerged. The root of the problem, according to Muhammad Ibrahim in an article published in AL-MUSTAQBAL AL-'ARABI No 40, June 1982, is the absence of proper standard symbols acceptable throughout the Arab homeland so that the computer designers can use them and so that these symbols become capable of dealing with an Arabic text. The National Electronic Computer Center in Baghdad has encountered difficulties in studying this problem, including the difficulty of representing the (alif and al-hamzah) letters because their shapes differ according to their position in the word. The same applies to representing the compounded (la), the vowelized (alif) and the rounded (ta'), as well as the difficulty of representing vowels and numbers.

Several Arab and international endeavors have emerged for solving this problem. But these endeavors are not coordinated. In an article published

in AL-MAJALLAH AL-'ARABIYAH LI AL-'ULUM [Arab Science Magazine] in November 1982 and entitled "Use of Unified Arab Cipher in Electronic Computers," Ahmad Sharafi says that "these efforts are being made without organization, thus enabling the manufacturers to dictate their terms and to offer the technology that meets their interests without taking into consideration the Arab countries' needs in this regard." What is regrettable is that voices have risen calling for an end to efforts to find solutions to the Arabic alphabet without fully understanding the problems created by these flaws in the alphabet--problems that have caused all the sophisticated modern technology to continue to use a rigid and petrified form of the Arabic alphabet. Development does not mean abolishing the beauty of the Arabic alphabet but proceeding to develop it in a practical manner stemming from the inherited, splendid beauty of the Arabic letter. I will review these accomplishments, what has been achieved by the development efforts and the obstacles facing this issue [in future articles.]

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DEPUTY FINANCE MINISTER DESCRIBES VARIOUS GULF ECONOMIC COORDINATION PLANS

London AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT in Arabic 16, 17 Oct 83

[Interview with Deputy Finance Minister 'Isa 'Abdallah Bu Rashid by Amin 'Muhammad Amin: "The Coordination of Gulf Fiscal Policies Has Priority over the Issue of Currency Unification"]

[16 Oct 83 p 6]

[Text] The establishment of the first monetary zone among Gulf Cooperation Council countries is a bold new project in the context of the execution of the sections of the consolidated economic agreement, whose 22nd article stipulates that "The member countries will run their financial, monetary and banking policies and increase cooperation among monetary institutions and banks, as well as endeavoring to consolidate their currencies, so that that will be supplementary to the economic integration among them."

Since the consolidated economic agreement's 28 sections are still in the stages of study, and their features, parameters and dimensions have not yet become familiar to many people, AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT therefore met with 'Isa 'Abdallah Bu Rashid, the deputy minister of finance and the national economy in Bahrain, to shed further light on the Gulf monetary zone and many financial and economic issues in the Gulf in general and Bahrain in particular.

[Question] The Gulf monetary zone is one of the important features of the application of the sections of the consolidated economic agreement. What steps must precede it so that it can actually be carried out? How can work be unified while each Gulf country still has a particular currency? How much time will it take?

Currency Unification

[Answer] The subject of the unification of currency must be preceded by an easing of conditions in the area of financial and monetary policies, in order to make it possible to bring about an interconnected economic base among countries in the area which will be a prelude to the creation of a unified Gulf currency. Before unifying the currency, we will have to coordinate economic and financial policies in the Cooperation Council countries,

because coordinating and unifying them will constitute the foundation on which it will be possible to unify the currency. Proceeding from this premise, in the first meeting of governors of monetary organizations and central banks in the council countries, emphasis was placed on the evaluation of exchange rate policies and procedures followed in the member countries, the recommendation of a system on whose basis they may be brought closer together, and therefore the unification of the exchange rates of Gulf currencies, first of all, then the reconciliation of policies on exchanging Gulf and foreign currencies.

As regards the unification of currency, as long as there is a particular currency in each country, it will be necessary first of all to consolidate their interrelationships, because that will define the criterion in light of which the single currency will be determined. This will require that we address ourselves to policies related to credit in each country separately and recommend methods that will result in reconciling credit policies in the Cooperation Council countries, preparatory to consolidating them. In this regard, the secretariat general is preparing integrated studies on exchange rate policies and measures and credit policies in each country separately. It has also asked us to perform studies on exchange rates in each country so that the extent of the difference among the countries will be clear to us and we will be able, in the light of that, to unify currency among council countries. This makes it inevitable for us that a review must be made of financial and banking policies among the countries of the area as a basic step which will supplement the process of economic and financial coordination which occurs at the various levels of economic activity among all Cooperation Council countries. This means that we are still in the stage of studying to narrow the differences among member countries in terms of the evaluation of currency and the coordination of credit policies.

As regards the period of time it might require for the unification of the currency to take place and the monetary zone to emerge into actual, practical reality, it is difficult to determine this period of time and that has not been an easy process, as some people might imagine. For example, the European Common Market countries have taken about 25 years and have so far arrived only at the stage of the unification of exchange rates and of setting out standards for the exchange rates of all the countries in the European area, by what is called the international point system.

This does not mean that we will take the same time, that is, 25 years, to reach this stage. Rather, we are working with all our strength and speed toward the desired act and achievement, and proof of that is that we have been able to sign a unified economic agreement in the 2 years of the life of the Cooperation Council. In 5 years, we will be able to reach the stage the European Common Market has reached so far, which is that of the unification of the exchange rate, because that is the basis. In the light of that, it will be possible to create a unified Gulf dinar in the context of the local currencies that exist, because the Bahraini dinar, for instance, will be equal to a specific rate for the Saudi riyal, and the two currencies will be exchanged for international currencies at a unified rate. At that point, there will be no fluctuations in Gulf currencies; the currencies will all rise and fall relative to the international currencies.

Reserve Accounts

[Question] Will the unification of Gulf currencies be preceded by steps toward the unification of the reserve accounts of gold, dollars or currencies which it is estimated the exchange rate of the local currency will need, or will every country retain a special account for that? Will there be similar systems in this regard? What will bring about the unification of the Gulf countries' currency?

[Answer] There is no need for unification. The reserves are more or less unified throughout the world as a whole on the basis of gold and foreign currencies, as the law establishing the International Monetary Fund has stipulated. Consequently there is no need for this step and the unification of reserves; there are many similar systems in the countries of West Africa, which are called the foreign franc zone.

As regards what the unification of the currency of Gulf countries can achieve, that is the attainment of the goals of integration and economic coordination among Gulf countries. It will also ultimately constitute a total economic unity among the Cooperation Council countries, everyone will be dealt with as a single monetary zone and a single currency domestically and abroad, and consequently the flow and exchange of capital among the countries themselves, then between them and the countries of the region and the countries of the outer world, will be made easier. I anticipate success for this consolidated economic system and also success for the draft law on the united Arab dinar, because our economies in the countries of the region are similar, although there are some technical difficulties in the attainment of integration among the economies of our Arab world, because there is more than one economic system in some countries. For example, in the Gulf area, we have a free capitalist system, in some Arab countries the socialist system is followed, and in some of them there is a mixed system, that is, part of the economy is free, part mixed sector, and another part public sector. It is difficult to combine these within a single system.

Objections and the Economic Agreement

[Question] It is stated frequently that there are some objections to sections in the economic agreement, among them some persons' objection to the unification of customs tariffs, on grounds that it deprives some countries of the advantage they possess as free zones that rely on the re-export of goods. Also, some people object to the law on commercial agencies. What is your opinion on that?

[Answer] With respect to the consolidated economic agreement, that is to be considered a great achievement. It covers various economic and financial features, such as trade, the protection of economic activity, technical and industrial treatment, transportation and communications, and thus represents a sincere desire for coordination and interaction among a group of countries that share similar economic features and aspire to attain economic integration. However, we must not forget that there is a difference in levels of growth and economic and financial capabilities among the countries of the Cooperation Council and consequently this requires that we be realistic in

applying each subsection of the agreement, because of the different levels of growth in the council countries. This prompts us to pursue a platform of gradual application of the sections, as there is a section which can be carried out today and there are sections where it will take a long time for each country to prepare itself for the application of the other sections. Therefore, the council countries cannot impose a decree which cannot be applied in a given country. This may be ascribed to the difference in levels of growth and material capabilities, things which can be dealt with through time and further study, until we attain the optimum method for applying the agreement, with all its 28 sections.

Last 1 September, customs tariffs for cooperation country products were abrogated, except for some small groups of goods in fledgling industries where some protection was needed for a specific period, such as cement and electric light bulbs; in more accurate terms, it was recommended that the elimination of customs tariffs on those be delayed for 5 years; this step is in the process of being studied. We also must fully realize that economic integration is not all a matter of loss, just as it is not all profit; it cannot be doubted that some activities will be affected by this in the negative sense, and in some activities re-export trade will increase, and will be matched by an increase in the exports of national industry. In addition, all protection systems must take into consideration the study of everything before they are issued and go into effect, especially as far as the goods to be protected are concerned, in terms of the quantities and quality of production, so that the consumer will not be harmed by protection, first and last.

Application and the Interests of the Citizens

[Question] Some merchants in the countries of the area fear the application of the agreement; how can one reconcile application with the conciliation of the citizens?

'Isa Bu Rashid said, "The countries of the region are fully aware of the levels of growth and the economic and financial capabilities of each given country, and the economic and financial agencies understand this difference well. Through application, we have exempted trade and commercial agencies from the application of the agreement, provided that the merchant continue to be an agent for local goods, as he is, and no other agent have the right to control him and his commerce. Through this, we find that the agreement is in keeping with the circumstances and the economic reality in the area. We are also constantly studying each section in isolation and studying the extent to which it is possible to apply it and the effects of doing so, by means of the committee on financial cooperation made up of the Ministry of Finance, which is carrying these studies out. We are now in the first stage of the agreement, and there are numerous recommendations for adding further activities; these will all be presented to the Council of Ministers at its next meeting in Doha. In addition, after the meeting of the committee on financial cooperation which will be held in Riyadh, it will be decided whether we will present new resolutions, recommendations or suggestions to the next Gulf summit meeting.

New Plans

[Question] Has a specific period of time been set out for carrying out the agreement? Are there any new plans for attaining economic integration among the countries of the region in the realm of major industries or other areas?

[Answer] As far as the execution of the sections of the agreement goes, there is no specific period of time, because we are studying and carrying out its sections step by step on proper foundations, without haste, so that we will not make mistakes in the overall application and that will not have any effect on any of the countries in the region. With respect to the new projects for attaining economic integration, there are recommendations on the integration of the private sector in most council countries as well as recommendations on the possibility of increasing links and distributing economic interests among the citizens of the Cooperation Council. For instance, there is a recommendation on getting the citizens of the Cooperation Council to contribute to the capital and shares of existing Gulf industries and companies such as the aluminum project in Bahrain, Gulf Airlines, and some banks and chemical industries in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. There also are major industrial projects which are being studied for construction in the countries of the area, with integration among all the Cooperation Council countries. These projects have been presented at meetings of ministers of industry in the Cooperation Council countries, including a pipeline to ship oil to the countries of the area to the Sea of Oman, for export there, as well as the construction of oil refineries in the Sultanate of Oman and the construction of a terminal to export Cooperation Council country oil from the Gulf of Oman. All these studies are in the process of being prepared and discussed.

[17 Oct 83 p 6]

[Text] Many questions are revolving in the minds of businessmen in the Arab Gulf countries, on the future of oil, the effect of world market factors on oil prices, and consequently Gulf country budgets.

Along with these questions, there are others which AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT directed to 'Isa 'Abdallah Bu Rashid, the deputy minister of finance and national economy in Bahrain, during the second portion of our special interview with him, of which AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT published the first part yesterday.

The Budgets of the Gulf

[Question] What is the real status of Gulf budgets? Have they really been extensively affected because of oil?

[Answer] We all know that the oil countries of the Gulf are developing countries and are at present in the preliminary stages of growth. Therefore the existence of oil, and the discovery of oil, have given us an opportunity to develop our economies with the desired speed. In the past 15 years there was great investment in the development of these economies, specifically in the construction of infrastructures for our economies. I believe that most Gulf countries have reached an important stage. Because of the speed with

which we carried out these major projects and as a result of the speed some waste has occurred in spending. This is a normal situation, because we had been seeking rapid economic growth, and therefore whether a crisis in oil prices had occurred or not it would have been necessary for us to reach the stage of controlling financial expenditures. There is no doubt that the economies have been affected by the oil prices. A barrel of oil that sold for \$32 now is \$29. The price of oil ought to have leapt up, because oil prices had been frozen from 1955 to 1968, and the price of oil was no greater than \$1.80, then, in 1963, dropped by 20 cents and consequently the prices were frozen for non-economic reasons. Had the factors of the market been left alone, the prices would have come to \$30 at the end of the seventies. The Gulf countries were affected by the drop in oil prices and the drop in demand for oil, exports declined from 1 million to 700,000, that is, by 30 percent, and there was a drop in production and a drop in prices of 15 percent. Therefore, we find that Bahrain, for example, like the other countries of the Gulf, was to a large degree affected by this drop in production and prices. It was also apparent that the drop in oil prices itself gave the administrative agencies in most Gulf countries an opportunity to review the possibility of benefiting from them.

Immigrant Labor

[Question] The Gulf countries have finished building the infrastructure for the economies. This structure requires in its planning a large amount of labor at a time when some Gulf countries are adopting a policy of austerity. That is reflected clearly in immigrant labor and the reduction of it by varying rates. Can these countries, after that, carry out their ambitious projects and plans to progress at a time when there is not enough labor among the citizens to fill the void the immigrant labor is leaving?

[Answer] As you know, the labor needed to build a given project differs in terms of the volume of the labor needed to operate it from project to project as far as volume and quality are concerned. Therefore I believe that there is a proportion of about 10 percent of the labor needed to build a project which is really necessary; thus, there are 90 percent which is a greater benefit [sic] than if there was another construction project which would absorb the 90 percent surplus. Consequently it is necessary to dispense with 90 percent of the labor. Some countries' decisions to do without some labor is in no way wise, because doing without any percentage of the labor in any circumstances means tying up the economy and failing to take a step forward for the sake of progress. I believe that people who take such decisions must study their dimensions and results well.

Indices of the New Budget

[Question] Has the government of Bahrain's 1984 budget been affected by the drop in oil prices? What are the most important indices in the new budget?

[Answer] As far as Bahrain's revenues go, in the light of what has happened in the oil markets and because of the ambitiousness of the development programs, and in the light of the limited nature of revenues, a deficit has occurred in the general government budget amounting to 30 million dinars.

This deficit will be financed by increased development in the domestic market by borrowing half of this sum at the end of this year and the other portion at the start of next year. A large proportion of government and other revenues comes from aid from Arab countries, especially the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, Kuwait and Abu Dhabi. We will offer bonds in the local market, and, in the light of that, we will seek to continue to carry out the projects to which the 4-year program is committed, which are estimated at about 1.14 billion dinars. In addition, we will start inaugurating new projects at a cost of about 200 million. The budget of the government of Bahrain has been greatly affected by economic circumstances, the oil prices and the drop in revenues from other areas. The Council of Ministers has taken decisions in this regard, most importantly to freeze the new budget, so that it will exceed the 1983 budget by only 5 percent. In addition, attention has also been given to the guidance of spending in the various authorities and organizations of the government, for instance, refusing to replace government cars, refusing to replace furniture, freezing the volume of labor in the government sector, and failing to make new appointments except on the basis of essential work circumstances and the presence of essential requirements for that, like the operation of new projects such as a new electric plant, or the operation of new schools or health centers. That is, appointments to government positions will be only by necessity. We will also try to find appropriate solutions to unemployment in specific areas and therefore we will concentrate on retraining and requalification in some areas of study. For instance, we found that there is a great surplus in graduates in the humanities (geography, history, letters, sociology) and a corresponding shortage in some other sciences. Therefore, we are trying to create a balance and set out the plans necessary to train and qualify these graduates so that we will be able to cover all the labor market's requirements for skilled trained personnel.

Bahrain's Experience

[Question] Bahrain has occupied a prominent position and become a big financial and economic center in the area, because of a group of numerous banks and financial institutions, especially "offshore banks." What are the negative and positive features of the experience, and what is the effect of their influences on one another in the domestic and foreign contexts, as far as Bahrain is concerned?

[Answer] Bahrain's policy is based on the diversification of income sources. Therefore we have started to establish a financial market in Bahrain and have worked to transform it into a center for financial and economic services which would serve the countries of the area and the countries of the world, would receive deposits from countries in the area and would seek to stabilize and exploit them. The foreign banks in Bahrain perform banking services of the highest international caliber and have sought to encourage the movement of trade and a variety of investments, especially as regards the financing of large projects. For instance, if an American, Japanese or Korean company carries out a given project in Bahrain and needs to withdraw some of its reserves from banks abroad, that would take a great deal of time in the form of travel, making withdrawals and returning. Therefore, it was very important to have branches for these banks in Bahrain so that Bahrain

and the countries of the area could be served, rather than having the bank's agent travel abroad or get in contact with the bank's headquarters. The changes the international economy has been going through in the past 10 years, in terms of structure and matters related to the exchange rates of currencies, have been great. Agents in Bahrain or the company wishing to draw on its reserves for projects in the area carry out their activities as thoroughly and speedily as possible without much effect on prices. The creation and emergence of new job opportunities, especially banking professions and commercial activities, are considered to be one of the most important positive features of the existence of a large financial market in Bahrain. The opportunities the money market and the banks have created have come to more than 5,000 bank positions, and they are all advanced, technological jobs. In addition, the banks' contributions and revenues now constitute 9 percent of national income. Therefore, the banks and the money market in Bahrain have greatly benefitted the Bahraini economy. In addition, they have provided the necessary services for their agents in Bahrain and the countries of the area, turning Bahrain into a large money market in the Arab and international contexts. They have also helped streamline the movement of Arab resources and the attempt to invest them in Bahrain in place of investments in the other countries of the world. The experience with the financial market in Bahrain is one of the most successful ones in the area of economy and finance.

The Establishment of New Banks!

[Question] Are there any applications for the establishment of new banks, or is the existing magnitude in keeping with the economics of the country? Will Bahrain evolve into a financial market in the area? Has Bahrain benefitted from what happened in the al-Manakh market in Kuwait, so that it can avoid what might happen in the future, especially since the jewelry market was affected by the events in the al-Manakh market?

[Answer] With respect to the establishment of new banks, that will depend first of all on the size and development of the market and its ability to serve the countries of the area and fulfill their commitments toward their clients, especially since the financial market in Bahrain has acquired considerable status and is considered a basic part of the world financial market, and capital has started to flow from America and Europe to the Far East. Bahrain now possesses high status in the international context in the area of money and economy. As far as the establishment of a Bahraini financial market goes, that is all undergoing study, especially after the circumstances of the al-Manakh market and the crisis it has gone through, because the countries in the area are interlinked and are quickly affected by everything that goes on in any other country. Therefore it is not strange that the Bahraini jewelry market should be affected by what has happened in the al-Manakh market in Kuwait, because one thing that escapes most people is that our economies are firmly interrelated among all the countries of the area, and also economic interests are interrelated, and the occurrence of anything in any country in the region has an effect on the other countries. Since the base of the jewelry market in Bahrain is very narrow, it is now difficult for what happened in Kuwait to be repeated now in the Bahrain jewelry market. The new stock exchange will help organize activity in the Bahraini stock market.

[Question] Some people are expressing some economic fears as a result of the construction of the Saudi Arabia-Bahrain bridge. Have the necessary economic rules been set out to organize economic relations and transactions between the two countries after construction of the bridge?

[Answer] Yes, there are economic committees between the two countries to study all related matters, in the form of customs procedures, financial dealings and so forth. These fears have no basis in truth because we are preparing and studying everything related to that, and there will be no sound economic bases protecting the Bahraini and Saudi economies.

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YEHUD RESIDENTS CONCERNED OVER POSSIBLE BERYLLIUM THREAT

Tel Aviv YEDI'OT ARARONOT in Hebrew 7 Oct 83 (Supplement "7 Days") pp 5-7

[Article by Mordekhay Gilat: "The Silence Surrounding the Beryllium Syndrome"]

[Text] What do upstanding citizens do when one morning they discover that their health and the health of their children are in danger from a horrible ecological threat? They are stricken with fear. And they set up a public committee and ask for the situation to be remedied through any means possible. Then they realize, to their horror, that what they discovered has already been in the headlines, billed as a "poison to the public health"--i.e. it has already been exposed and there is no one else to turn to, and no one cares.

Suddenly, they discover that written and verbal pleas to the authorities will not be answered; that some of the truth is being hidden from them; that the public is not made aware of all the information and implications; and that the administration, and all its branches, simply does not care about them.

They also become aware of one additional fact of great significance: The more professionals there are who are privately willing to help them, the more interest they show in the subject, the more coverage they receive in the press--the heavier becomes the curtain surrounding the truth. The establishment's knot of silence begins to close around the affair; officials in high places and in the line of duty, representatives from the Ministry of Health, ask HAOLAM HAZEH reporters Shlomo Frankel and Marcel Zohar--who first brought the danger to the public's awareness--to back off the case. Their ingenious reason: "For the good of the people of Israel, leave it alone...."

In order to understand the affair which Professor Runji of the Ministry of Health asked HAOLAM HAZEH to back away from, we must first look at what has been called "The Beryllium Affair." Beryllium is a light metal (lighter than aluminum) which was first used industrially in the early 1940s in the manufacture of fluorescent light bulbs. Even before it was discovered that beryllium is one of the most poisonous and dangerous substances known to man, workers in the United States beryllium industry were injured. The injuries brought about a review and thorough investigation which revealed, beyond a shadow of a doubt, that injuries to workers were a direct result of their contact with the metal. Precautionary measures were instituted.

In 1950, when another group of workers was injured by beryllium, even stricter safety measures were enforced in the United States. But this did not prevent subsequent injuries. In 1954, for example, noxious gases escaped through one of the chimneys of a fluorescent light factory in Lauren, Ohio. Following the leak, many of the workers came down with a serious lung disease called "beryllosis"; some died.

Apparently, as a gas, beryllium is highly deadly, and therefore, the stage at which the rods are withdrawn from the furnaces--at which time gases are released--is now thought to be the most dangerous. The forming of the beryllium rods can be dangerous both to workers in direct contact with the substance as well as to people living in the area of the plant, or even at some distance. From reading articles in the field and from discussing the subject with scientists and doctors, we found out that beryllium has highly deleterious effects on the breathing passages and can cause death. Its effects on the breathing passages is recognized in two ways; both are chronic and serious. One manifestation appears mainly among people working with beryllium and the other among people living in proximity to the plant.

Thus, for example, studies have shown that a higher than average beryllium concentration in the air affected three out of eight people, even when exposure to the beryllium lasted no more than a few minutes. It was further revealed that even exposure to low levels of beryllium was enough to cause symptoms of chronic breathing illnesses in the population living near the plant.

According to Dr Avner Kohen of Hasharon Hospital--who is serving on the citizens' committee formed in Yehud--severe lung damage may be caused just by handling the beryllium, and the problem is that the damage is irreversible. "Lung damage under these circumstances," he explains, "either get progressively worse, or, if one is lucky, it simply remains a chronic problem. In any event, there is no chance of recuperation or a return to a prior healthy state.

"What's more," says Dr Kohen, "damage from beryllium as a gas is relatively fast and devastating, and there is no trouble identifying it. On the other hand, lung damage from beryllium particles is much harder to identify and is sometimes only discovered after several months or even years. We take into account the possibility that steps will be taken to prevent further injury to workers and area residents. But we must also consider the fact that there is no 100 percent sure way of guaranteeing safety. Given these conditions, the decision to build a plant in Yehud, in the heart of a population concentration--not to mention the nearby school--is incomprehensible and outrageous. I would not even be exaggerating if I called it mass murder."

Why Did TAMAM Win?

Israel is a democratic country, where the public is entitled to free access to information on any topic effecting it; yet, the Ministry of Defense and the Israel Aircraft Industry have refused to provide details about the plant (claiming security as an excuse) and about why they are insisting on building it in Yehud of all places, as opposed to a place some distance from a dense population area. They have also refused to discuss the steps they are taking to ensure the safety of their workers.

What is known, notwithstanding, is that at least two parties submitted competitive bids for the construction of the beryllium plant in Israel: the firm of TAMAM (Precision Industrial Equipment Company) under the auspices of the IAI; and the Center for Nuclear Research in Dimona. Reason would have it that the beryllium plant be built alongside the site of the nuclear reactor in the Negev, and not just because there it would be at a safe distance from any population center. However, by some miracle, it was TAMAM that won the bid, and TAMAM is situated in the heart of Yehud and surrounded by other settlements as well.

A senior officer of the Ministry of Defense told me that the results speak for themselves--i.e. the population density in proximity to the plant should have been enough to eliminate TAMAM from the bidding. But, he said, Nuclear Center in Dimona is run by serious scientists and professionals who treated the subject accordingly. In his opinion, they probably suggested that the only way to handle beryllium safely is in what is called a "glove chamber"--i.e. a closed chamber made of a clear plastic material (like plexiglass). This type of handling would eliminate real contact with the beryllium during processing.

However, working under these conditions is slower and less convenient than in an open system," he explained, "although it is considerably more safe. I don't know what safety measures TAMAM is taking. But I am sure that at the Nuclear Center in Dimona, both because of the remote location and because of the precautions they intended to take, there would be no problems. Except perhaps one: Due to the cost of the "glove chamber" and the relative slow speed of work under these conditions, the profit margin would be smaller...."

A scientist in the defense network noted: "The processing of beryllium abroad takes place in a limited number of plants in the United States, and even fewer in Germany. The Germans process beryllium in open areas, but they are too cautious to do it themselves. That kind of dangerous work is relegated to hired laborers from Turkey."

The new plant in Yehud, the planned area for which is not very large, will be built just outside of TAMAM's current location and, at least at the beginning, only a few workers will be employed. TAMAM has recently been trying to create the impression among its workers that the space allotted relative to the number of workers and the small quantity of beryllium to be processed--in addition to safety measures undertaken--will somehow reduce the danger to a minimum. But the scientific literature clearly indicates that the size of the beryllium facility does not necessarily influence the degree of pollution. Laboratories with a small area can nonetheless be capable of handling large quantities of beryllium at various stages of production and can create significant levels of contamination."

The professional literature indicates that "at almost every phase of beryllium production, dust is created;" that "beryllium is as dangerous as a base element as it is in various alloys;" and that "the reference to the dangers of beryllium refers to any material containing beryllium as well, alloys or ores

included." But these facts, which emerged from the research I conducted, did not prevent TAMAM and the managers of other plants in the aircraft industry, from using beryllium. Over a year ago, they were already producing compound metals with beryllium as an element, albeit at a concentration of no more than 5 percent. The management did not inform the workers exactly what they were working with, did not point out the dangers of beryllium, and did not implement safety measures to prevent injury to workers in the plant.

Thus, for example, a young female worker whose job it was to cut metal sheets, was unaware that the metal contained a certain percentage of beryllium. "One day," she says, "I came across a manufacturer's label on which it was specifically stated: 'This material contains beryllium and may be a hazard to your health.' Until that incident, I had been told nothing."

The statements of this worker--and many others in the aircraft industry--become all the more important in light of the IDF's "Safety Instructions for the Handling of Beryllium" which, among other things, state:

- a. Only workers trained by the poisons inspector, will be permitted to work with beryllium;
- b. Every possible measure must be taken to prevent fire. High temperatures may cause beryllium to ignite, endangering the workers and poisoning the air breathed by workers and area residents;
- c. A warning sign must be posted while beryllium is being processed. This sign should read: "Dangerous: Beryllium Work in Progress."

I showed these instructions, and many others--none of which actually guarantee the safety of the workers--to a few workers at TAMAM and other firms in the aircraft industry, and they were hard-pressed to conceal their smiles. "In our place," one told me, "there is no hint of such precautions." They were totally unaware of the situation. Only when the story made the headlines were a few measures adopted. "A machine or two was covered with nylon...."

[Question] Nylon?

[Answer] Yes. Just nylon. I'm perfectly serious. There are many machines, just one for the handling of beryllium. And it was covered with nylon. Today, I understand better that it was a joke. The nylon, of course, couldn't really prevent the beryllium dust and particles from spreading throughout the plan. What we thought were protective measures instituted for the welfare of workers were just a joke.

[Question] Has anything changed over the last few months?

[Answer] To the best of my knowledge, a room has been closed off and one or two machines were put in there. Access is permitted only to a few workers. The room is ostensibly secret and anyone who doesn't physically work in there or hold a position of responsibility for what's going on in there can't go in. They're trying to pacify the workers.

Trying To Avoid Disaster

Do the workers at TAMAM need to be pacified?

Apparently they do. While compiling material for this article, it became known to me that the TAMAM management had not bothered to let the workers' representatives in on the secret of the beryllium plant to be built; even after the scandal broke out 3 months ago, they continued to hide the facts from their workers.

In May of this year, rumors were leaked insinuating that the workers' council had begun to investigate what they called "the beryllium affair." Workers' representatives demanded explanations from the management, this at a large meeting held at the beginning of June. Management had a hard line explaining why they had kept information from the council.

The management promised to implement safety procedures and they found that they had at their disposal advisors from the United States. They asked the workers to remember that the issue was "the good of the plant" and that the beryllium project would bring in a tremendous profit and that this profit would translate into significantly higher wages.

But beyond the superficial explanations and promises, the workers were still not made privy to information about the project. It was, however, decided that an internal follow-up committee would be established jointly by management and the workers' council. But this committee has yet to be established. Why? I was unable to obtain an answer from plant manager Amos Samu'el. I also asked to visit the plant. My request was flatly denied.

The meeting between management and workers' representatives was somehow not fruitful and in order to subdue the growing tension in the plant, Amos Samu'el turned to his workers in a letter. In the letter he claimed that the beryllium reports published in the press were "misleading;" he explained that at their plant they were not dealing with beryllium gas and he assured the worried workers that their health and safety were prime concerns of the aircraft industry. To his letter, the general manager attached a "convincing" letter, from the aircraft industry physician, Dr Amnon Ben-David. Dr Ben-David told the workers: "I see no danger in the type of beryllium processing that will be done at TAMAM." And he suggests: "Don't be thrown into a panic by misleading information in the sensationalist press."

What's insulting about these two letters is the simple fact that, for example, they contain no direct commitment not to engage in other types of beryllium processing, such as grinding. Among the various stages in the processing of beryllium, grinding is considered one of the most dangerous, due to the dust particles created, which can so easily penetrate the respiratory system. Dr Shemu'el Berger of the Environmental Health Institute specifically warns against the dangers in this phase of production. Among other things, Dr Berger does qualify his opinion about building the plant in

Yehud, saying that it would be alright if grinding did not take place and if no more than 5 kilograms of beryllium were processed with each.

Amos Samu'el did not show his workers documents prepared by the ministries of health and defense, in which the general managers and other high-ranking officials clearly stated the dangers presented to both workers and neighboring residents. It appears, however, that the facts themselves were enough to make "volunteers" for beryllium work scarce.

The Knot of Silence

It is hard to know what, if any, steps will be taken by the workers' council in the aircraft industry. On the other hand, it is clear that at least some of Yehud's residents do not intend to sit and twiddle their thumbs. Thus, for example, 2 months ago a public committee was established in town. Among its members are Dr Avner Kohen; Dr Ya'ir Rothstein (a physicist with the Oil Research Institute) and his wife Le'a; Le'a Miller, a bookkeeper by profession; and Ester Drori--the spirit and moving force of the group.

Out of naivete, the committee members believed that the Ministry of Health was not merely a fixture but a dynamic body in sound operating condition; that the manager of the Environmental Protection Agency of the Ministry of the Interior, Uri Merinov, is a man of authority and power; that the regional commission for planning and construction is a body working all out against the poisoning of the people; that the head of the Yehud Council, Sa'adia Hatukha--to whom we'll return later--was fighting 24 hours a day for the well-being of its residents; and that the people at the nuclear reactor in Dimona, even if formally their hands were tied, are capable of finding a way to help the council. After all, they recognized the dangers of beryllium more than anyone else.

The council made verbal and written pleas to every official source that might help in their struggle--all with the same result: Some of these sources did not even bother to answer; those that did answer did so as if to meet an obligation, without even addressing the crux of the problem; others advised them to go on to still other impotent sources; and these other impotent sources sent them back to the first group they had approached, and so on and so forth. In short, their pleas fell on deaf ears.

"If I hadn't experienced it personally," said Ester Drori, "I wouldn't have believed the situation. I believed that the Ministry of Health was bent on protecting the welfare of the people; that the little people had somewhere to turn when they needed help; that the regional council for planning and construction consisted of people who cared; that Uri Merinov, based the advice he gave us, was capable of doing something concrete on his own; and that the aircraft industry management would show more sensitivity toward the public. What, after all, were we fighting for money? Personal gain? In the final analysis, we were fighting for our health and for the health of our children. Why, then, have we met with so much resistance? Why have we been treated so poorly? Why doesn't anyone in this country care?"

Ester Drori had a letter of reply that she received from the Center for Nuclear Research in Dimona. She explains: "At first, they promised to reply to the point; later, they told me on the telephone that the reply they had promised had been delayed due to summer vacations; and in the end, they wrote that they couldn't give advice to a private party. Perhaps I wouldn't be so down on them if I had not found out, later, that someone from the center was helping TAMAM. And not in an above-board fashion. Suddenly, TAMAM is the underdog in need of help."

Le'a Rothstein: "The public is liable to get the impression that no one is helping us. That would not be true. Various people, discretely and privately, have put information at our disposal, documents and other material. And there have been people helping us plow through this material and answering our questions. We also turned to beryllium processing plants in the United States, but thus far they have disappointed us. They sent us material explaining what beryllium is."

[Question] Where is the head of the municipal council, Sa'adia Hatukha? Where does he fit into the whole story? Hasn't he been helping you?

[Drori] Unfortunately, very little. He could have, had he only wanted to, done a lot more. Meanwhile, months have gone by and Hatukha has not come through. It was only 3 weeks ago, under pressure from us, that he finally got around to sending a letter to the plant manager.

"I Will Shut Down TAMAM"

What is really Sa'adia Hatukha's position in this whole controversy. Why do we hardly hear the voice of the council head?

Aircraft industry workers told me that Hatukha keeps a low profile, and that the general impression is that TAMAM's managers are not especially worried about Hatukha's opposition to the construction of the plant. The head of the council, on the other hand, vehemently denies these impressions and asked me to write that "Anyone who told you that nonsense is a liar. I will say it again: 'A big liar.' To say that I have given in to TAMAM? Hatukha never gives in...."

Sa'adia Hatukha produces a letter he sent the TAMAM management, which Ester Drori had already mentioned. "Since the meeting in my office with the regional officer and the plant physician," the letter reads, "several months have gone by--this despite the fact that you agreed during that conversation that within a week to 10 days I would have the material requested concerning the plant. I therefore give you 2 weeks from today to provide me with material. Otherwise, I will have to use every means at my disposal to force your hand. I would even go so far as to have the plant closed."

Hatukha had difficulty explaining why he had waited several months before writing that letter. But he adamantly declared that the beryllium processing plant would be built over his dead body: "Townpeople have called me and suggested demonstrations," he alternately shouts and screams, "and I opposed the idea. I did not want to see damage to property or other problems."

But I also will not allow this proposed plant to cause breathing disorders in local residents. I'd sooner close the plant."

Does he have the authority?

"I do. My legal advisors checked that out. Anyway, I don't care about the State of Israel, and I don't care about security, and I don't care about anything. To me, the air we breathe is more important than money. I won't let them make money at my expense!"

[Question] Don't they have a license to do business?

[Hatukha] "No, they don't. They spoke with the Ministry of Health, asking the latter to convince me to issue the license. I said: They will not get a license to do business from me. I live in Yehud and I'm not afraid of anyone. If the state wants to make money--let them build a plant in Ramallah, in the territories, I don't know where. I'll fight 'til my dying breath."

[Question] When you had your meeting with the plant manager, did you demand to see a permit from the Ministry of Health?

[Tahukha] Of course I demanded to see one. And how. I even told them to call a press conference and deny the charges against them and on the same occasion present their permits and licenses for everyone to see. That's what I said. But they didn't call a press conference, and they didn't send me the documents they promised to send. I can tell you that they are liars.

[Question] Excuse me?

[Hatukha] Yes. Just what you heard. As far as I'm concerned, they are liars. They tricked the people of Yehud. Who do they think they are?

I asked the local council leader if even after the elections he would still be making the same promises, and this time, without screaming, he promised that he would not let the subject drop. He would fight, he said, until his dying breath. And the plant would not be built.

Workers from the aircraft industry ask: "If Hatukha really means what he's saying, what is he waiting for? Why hasn't he already effected a work stoppage?"

[Hatukha] "I gave them 2 weeks. In a few days, those 2 weeks will be up. After that, you'll see."

Why the Mystery?

Anyone who has taken the trouble to follow TAMAM's behavior during this affair, to follow the aircraft industry and the Ministry of Defense, is surely asking himself: If everything is going so well in this beryllium affair, and if the well-being and security of the workers and area residents are

really assured, why haven't they cleared up the mystery surrounding the affair? Why this secrecy? Why don't they break the silence?

Two and a half weeks ago, I first asked to speak with General Manager Samu'el, but he did not even bother to reply. Two days later, I got a call from an aircraft industry spokesman, Shay Tadmor, who explained that he had heard that I had shown an interest in the beryllium subject. He wanted to know whether the YEDI'OT AHARONOT regional correspondent knew that I was preparing to write this article, the implication being that I was invading someone else's turf. I explained to him that at least for the time being the management of the aircraft industry could not dictate copy or determine work assignments for YEDI'OT AHARONOT.

I asked the spokesman to introduce me to Amos Samu'el, to arrange a visit to the plant and an opportunity to speak with the workers' representatives. In response, the spokesman suggested that I make my request through the Ministry of Defense, which I did. But the Ministry of Defense has been in no hurry to answer.

In the end, after more than a week had gone by, the aircraft industry spokesman called back and explained that all three of my requests had been denied by the Ministry of Defense. Instead of visiting the plant and interviewing the general manager--a right which was later granted to another journalist--the spokesman gave me the standard replies: Security procedures had been adopted, the matter was being properly handled by official parties, a joint committee had been set up between the ministries of defense and health, and that committee would examine the steps to be taken and draw its conclusions, and so on and so forth. In other words: Go home; there's nothing to worry about.

9811

CSO: 4423/10

QUARTERMASTER BRANCH PLANS FOR IDF WINTER OUTFITTING

Tel Aviv BAMAHAHE in Hebrew No 9, 19 Oct 83 pp 5, 8

[Article by Raz Zamatzqi: "Improved Equipment Purchased: IDF to Train in Snow"]

[Text] The quartermaster branch of the general staff is now completing its latest preparation for winter in Lebanon. In the wake of lessons learned from last year's winter, soldiers serving in Lebanon this year will enjoy varied and improved equipment. The quartermaster branch assures us that budget pressures will not affect the soldiers in Lebanon this winter.

The quartermaster equipment branch commander, Colonel Gid'on, reported to BAMAHAHE that equipment purchase headquarters has acquired a variety of winter equipment and has improved a number of items in accordance with lessons learned from the past winter. The equipment is distributed by climatic area. Thus, for example, soldiers serving in Jabal Baruq will get snow glasses and "Canadian" shoes, which will not be supplied to soldiers serving in the Biqa' since they do not need them there.

The equipment purchase headquarters commander added that the heating system has been changed in some of the positions in Lebanon. In especially cold areas the quartermaster branch will install a reserve heating system. Most of the heaters supplied by the equipment center have already been installed except for a number which were installed recently in the new positions on the Awwali line.

In a check which the quartermaster branch made with IDF headquarters in Lebanon it turned out that they had all received the necessary winter equipment. In addition the quartermaster branch will conduct a special check to be sure that the equipment really reached its destination.

Even winter equipment for Ansar camp detainees is fully in place. The tents which the prisoners burned some time back have been replaced with new ones. The quartermaster's construction branch has been busy these days finding a solution to the problem of insulating and sealing the outposts in Lebanon against the winter cold. The assistant commander of the construction department, Lt Col Re'uven, reported that by mid-November all positions which suffered rain leaks will be fixed. The two officers said that budget

pressures forced the quartermasters into a new reduced posture, but this would in no way affect the welfare of the soldier in the Lebanese winter.

BAMAHANE's reporter in the north, Ayelet Yehi'av, reports that the winter deployment in the east Lebanon sector will be in force starting next week. The IDF will institute special measures to maintain the integrity of its weapons and equipment, even in cold and heavy snow. About a week ago the northern command began distributing personal winter gear to troops serving in the eastern sector, and most of them now have vital items such as thermal underwear and "Hermoniot" padded coveralls.

Training of the forces stationed in the eastern sector will continue even in the winter, which is particularly long in the sector and extends from October to May. It is the intention of the troop commanders to train even in the snow, in order to maintain the high operational level of men and equipment. These exercises will include professional courses and small unit crew drills.

The list of equipment which IDF soldiers will receive this winter in Lebanon in the various areas is as follows:

Quilted overalls
Turtle-neck jacket
Rubber snow shoes
Leather-outer gloves
Storm jacket
Storm pants
Snow glasses

In the Biqa':
Quilted pants
Padded shoes
Storm jacket
Storm pants
Leather-outer gloves
Winter underwear

9794

CSO: 4423/12

POLICE FORCE LACKS HUNDREDS OF EMPLOYEES

Tel Aviv 'AL HAMISHMAR in Hebrew 11 Oct 83 p 8

[Text] The Israeli police force is now short 900 officers and police, more than half of them in operational assignments and the rest in investigations, intelligence, the detective bureau and other administrative positions. Nevertheless the department has tightened its admission standards lately in an attempt to get better manpower than in the past.

In a talk with reporters yesterday the head of the personnel department at the national headquarters, Commander Benyamin Barlai, reported that the number of retirees from the force is almost the same as the number of new hires so that, for example, the forecast is for 900 to retire in 1983 and 800 to be hired.

From a check of the personnel files of 1500 policemen who resigned from the force in 1982, it turns out that 44 percent wanted to change their lifestyle, 29 percent left because of dissatisfaction with the job or with the difficult working conditions and 8 percent for economic reasons.

400 Policemen Will Be Fired

Commander Barlai reported that by April 1984, in accordance with Treasury Ministry guidelines, the force will have to let 400 policemen go, all of them from the administrative sector, in addition to 1600 personnel manning changes between staff and field units, which were implemented as part of the internal efficiency program within the force.

Barlai reported that recently an order was presented for the approval of the interior minister pertaining to the promotion of non-officer policemen, which sets all the criteria for hiring, training, and career rotation from the ranks of patrolman to senior sergeant-major [rav samal bakhir].

In order to fill out its ranks the force is now turning to the labor ministry's employment offices, through which an attempt is being made to recruit people to make up the full complement of personnel.

Similarly there is a direct connection to the manpower branch of the general staff which turns over lists of soldiers discharged from the regular service,

to whom the police force makes job offers. The force also makes offers to people who left the force in the past, asking them to return to service. In 1982 some 200 people were reinstated in this way.

Barlai admits that the competition in the economy for good, young manpower is still and that the force is finding it difficult to match the salaries paid in the civilian sector. Nevertheless he believes that should there be unemployment, the stream of police force applicants will increase.

9794

CSO: 4423/12

KOHEN-ORGAD TO GIVE UP PARTNERSHIP IN PRIVATE BUSINESSES

Tel Aviv MA'ARIV in Hebrew 19 Oct 83 p 3

[Article by 'Avino'am Bar-Yosef: "Kohen-Orgad to Divest Himself of Business Interests"]

[Text] The new treasury minister, Yig'al Kohen-Orgad, will soon divest himself of his business partnership in the investment firm "Elqontern 1981, Inc." and in the economic counseling firm "C.C.D."--in accordance with the decision of the Asher commission--as reported last night to MA'ARIV by Arye Kaspar, his partner in these corporations.

The "Elqontern 1981" corporation, under the ownership of Yig'al Kohen-Orgad, Arye Kaspar, the Melkman family and a foreign corporation under the ownership of a British investor, is now promoting two large projects in Jerusalem: construction of the "King David Court," and an apartment hotel in the Abu-Tur district.

The "King David Court" project, now under construction, includes a luxury building located north of the King David Hotel. To be built as part of the project are a gas station, a commercial area of 1500-2000 square meters and four to five stories of luxury service apartments. The intent is to place at the disposal of the purchasers various services including cleaning. At the entrance to the structure will be an elegant foyer with a cathedral ceiling as tall as the building itself. This space will contain two of the creations of the sculptor Ya'aqov Agam. One of the sculptures, 15 meters high and 1.4 meters in diameter will rotate on its axis while the other will move in changing rhythm under the control of computerized music.

Yig'al Kohen-Orgad and his partner Arye Kaspar accumulated past experience in luxury apartment construction when they represented a foreign investment group in the construction of the "King David Gardens" projects, south of the King David Hotel--a project known for the outrageous prices of its apartments, which skyrocketed to \$500,000.

Shraga Meqel adds: "I will handle my property precisely in accordance with the regulations of the Asher commission." Treasury minister Kohen-Orgad said last night in reply to a MA'ARIV question. "What does the commission say? That I must sell the property? If so, then I will sell it," the minister said.

The new Treasury minister said that his share in the ITAM corporation is only one-half percent, and he serves on the firm's board of directors as a non-paid volunteer.

SURVEY INDICATES POSSIBILITY OF OIL IN OCEAN SHELF

Tel Aviv HA'ARETZ in Hebrew 6 Oct 83 p 4

[Article by Yareah Tal: "First Signs of Oil on Ocean Shelf in Israeli Waters"]

[Text] "The initial results of a seismic study being conducted by the firm of Horizon, in the deep waters of the ocean shelf off Israel show signs of oil deposits in the ocean floor," reports Professor Avihu Ginzberg of Tel Aviv University at a symposium on oil exploration which opened yesterday at the Dan Hotel in Tel Aviv.

Ginzberg says there is a good possibility of finding oil in Israeli waters. Most likely, he continued, the deposits that will be found will be small, however. But, additional finds can still be predicted.

Professor Ginzberg, formerly head of the Geological Institute, criticized those government bodies which, he says, did not take advantage of the technological capabilities at their disposal to improve and advance the field of oil exploration. He also claimed that the Geological Institute hired itself out to private firms in need of information, instead of initiating, using its own budget, extensive seismic experiments on a broad, comprehensive basis throughout Israel. The seismic reports at our disposal today do not address all the questions that require answers, says Ginzberg.

For example, he pointed out the case of the drilling in Ashdod, where oil was discovered back in 1976-1977. For 5 years, almost nothing was done in this area, where the existence of oil has been proven. It is true that the area presents certain complex technical problems and that geophysical work never done in Israel before would have to take place, but it would nonetheless be good as a start. Thus far, there has been no initiative in that direction. MK Mikha Harish, chairman of the Knesset Energy Committee and Energy Policy Center, called for a revision of the 1952 oil law, among other things, to encourage potential investors in oil exploration. He noted that stimulating oil exploration in Israel is in the national interest, since oil is still Israel's major source of energy, accounting for more than 90 percent of Israel's energy consumption.

More Is Needed

Since oil exploration began in Israel approximately 30 years ago about 300 wells have been drilled, most at depths of between 1,000 and 3,000 meters, at a cost of 330 million dollars or more, 210 million dollars of which came from the national budget. Thus far, 16 million barrels have been extracted, mainly from the Haletz field, which at today's prices would be worth around 450 million dollars. According to the director of the National Oil company, another well like the one at Haletz would suffice to cover the cost of any future exploration.

9811

CSO: 4423/10

SPREAD OF CULTS STUDIED BY SPECIAL COMMITTEE

Tel Aviv HA'ARETZ in Hebrew 7 Oct 83 p 3

[Article by Nili Mendler: "Steps To Be Taken Against Cult Leaders in Israel Are Being Considered"]

[Text] At a session of the inter-office commission for the study of the spread of mystical cults in Israel, which will take place in 2 days, steps to be taken against cult leaders in Israel will be considered. Currently, there are no laws restricting their activities in Israel. But some of the suggestions that will be discussed are that cult leaders found in violation of various laws, such as health regulations and human rights amendments, will be brought to trial and that public pressure will be brought to bear on other cult leaders, in order to prevent their activities.

As far as is known, the commission scheduled to convene in 2 days is the first of its kind in Israel, and perhaps in the world, and will be based on a far-reaching, comprehensive study conducted over the course of 2 years. The commission is headed by the deputy minister of education, Miryam Ta'asa-Glazer and among its members are other prominent figures from the Ministry of Education and representatives of other government ministries and bodies, among them: Yehudit Karp of the Ministry of Justice, Yehudit Hibner of the Ministry of the Interior, Dr Mordekhay Kaufman, head family psychologist for kibbutzim, Reserve General Ron Levi who is a mental health officer in the IDF, and Shlomo Gal, chief investigative officer for the Israeli National Police.

The secretary of the conference, Yiskar Arbel, told a HA'ARETZ reporter that at issue are some three major cults which draw in Israelis: "Iman" with about 1,200 members, TM (Transcendental Meditation) with about 500 members, and Scientology, with another 500 members.

High Percentage of Kibbutzniks

Among the other cults which can be mentioned are "Ananda Marna," "Begwan Rajnish," "Hare Krishna" and "Rainshine" (the cult founded by Rina Shani). As far as EST, there is still some doubt as to whether it should be considered a cult. EST conducts group marathon sessions in Israel.

The findings of the study have shown that the percentage of kibbutzniks or former kibbutzniks in mystical cults is relatively high. It has become known that the kibbutz movement subsidizes members who want to participate in cults, in the context of "training" programs. In Iman alone, there are 60 kibbutz members.

It also came out that some former IDF officers from special units are in cults, among them, apparently, even a brigadier general. In Iman, for example, there are three or four former pilots. It was reported that the army releases from service any male or female soldiers belonging to cults.

More Women Than Men

The number of women in cults is higher than the number of men and the percentage of youth is relatively low. We are talking for the most part about youth who come from educated families. The predominant ages in cults are from 18 to 30. The rate of divorce among cult members is almost 100 percent.

Membership fees and various other payments in mystical cults amount to thousands of shekels a month. The membership fee for joining Iman, for example, is 7,000 shekels per month. The fee for "Mantara" (the ritual word for meditation) is another 7,000 shekels. There are cults which demand that their members make out wills leaving all their property to the guru.

The committee, which studied the spread of cults in Israel, found that the phenomenon is as dangerous and harmful to society and to the state as it is to the members themselves. The fact that thousands of Israelis and others belong to the cults, that is to say that they fell into the framework of a disciplined hierarchy, built on charisma of one man may create an undermining foundation for the growth of a pseudo-fascist regime in Israel.

The recommendations of the committee will be presented over the next few weeks to the minister of education.

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CSO: 4423/10

WEST BANK NOTABLES SAID SUPPORTIVE OF ISRAELI SETTLEMENTS

Tel Aviv YOMAN HASHAVU'A in Hebrew No 78, 20 Oct 83 p 15

[Article by Ruti Hason: "Arab Notables in Judaea and Samaria Support Continued Israeli Settlement; Group of Arab Notables Supports Continued Israeli Settlement; Development of Territories and Continued Ties with Israel; Among Supporters Are Bayt Jala Mayor Farah al-A'raj, a Gaza Notable; Wajiyah Fayyad Harb, Arab Notable from Hebron; Abd-al-'Aziz Nasiwah and Mustafa Dudin, head of the Village Leagues"]

[Text] "The Government of Israel should continue to invest large sums of money in the West Bank in order to increase the Jewish settlements," says for the first time Bayt Jala Mayor Farah al-A'raj, when asked about his opinion on Israeli investments in Judaea and Samaria. He says: "I often hear Israelis who do not support the policy of the present government and argue that instead of investing in the settlements, the government should invest in housing inside Israel. But in my opinion this is altogether wrong. In spite of what the media have been reporting, I know that many Arabs in the territories who work in Israel believe that Israel should never give up the West Bank. First, many Arabs who do not have work find jobs in Israel, and they do not want to give it up. Second, in our opinion Israel will not be able to defend itself without the West Bank. Third, even if Israel wants peace as we do, it should learn how to live side by side with us."

This opinion is supported by Wajiyah Fayyad Harb, a Gaza notable, who took part in the meeting held a few years ago by Mordekhay Tzipori, who served at the time as deputy defense minister.

Says Harb: "I support good relations between the Jewish people and the Arabs in Israel, including the relations of the West Bank Arabs to the Government of Israel, and it does not matter which party is in power. Freezing the settlements should not even be considered. Israel must settle Jews in Judaea and Samaria, even in the cities of Janin, Hebron and Gaza. At the same time the government should enable Arabs from the West Bank to live inside Israel in Tel Aviv, Haifa and Jerusalem."

In Hebron too there is someone who agrees. Mahmud Abd-al-Aziz Nasiwah, age 48, a local notable who has met with ministers in the Jordanian government, says:

"I keep hearing many Arabs in the territories, including mayors like Rashad a-Shawa of Gaza, say that Israel must not increase the settlement momentum. But I am objective, and I think that if Israel stops the settlement momentum on the West Bank it will hurt Arabs who work in Israel, including mayors from the West Bank who do business in Israel and have ties with many Jews. The truth is that in over 10 years since the occupation of the West Bank in the Six Day War, the relations between Jews and Arabs have improved, and I do not see why they should suddenly stop. This must not happen. The government of Israel must acquire a great deal of land on the West Bank and settle Jews. I think the cooperation between the government and the Arabs on the West Bank should become stronger, in order to overcome all the existing problems and obstacles.

Village Leagues head Mustafa Dudin adds: "I am known for my support of Israel. To my mind, what Israel has invested so far in the settlements is not enough. The government must--and I am addressing myself to Prime Minister Shamir--invest more funds in the West Bank."

Dudin stresses that it was good for the Arabs that the Likud and Labor did not form a national unity government. "This could have stopped the settlement momentum which is important to us. If the Alignment decides tomorrow to give up Judea and Samaria, I would consider it a first rate folly."

Those are not the only Arab notables who support this position. Others we have spoken to refused to be identified but stressed the importance of publishing this view prevalent in the territories in an Israeli newspaper.

9565

CSO: 4423/14

POLICE DISCUSS TRENDS IN CRIME

Tel Aviv YOMAN HASHAVU'A in Hebrew No 78, 20 Oct 83 pp 29, 31, 33, 35

[Article by Ziv Kupper: "Crime in Israel; Crime on the Rise in Israel, Arms of Underworld Reach Government Upper Echelons; Police Thus Far Unable to Stop It; Ministers and Knesset Members, Like All Citizens, Prefer to Overlook the Problem and the Enormous Power of the Underworld; Special YOMAN HASHAVU'A Survey Reveals Shocking Details about Proportions of Crime in Israel and Uncovers Unknown Crime Sources, Including the Stock Market"]

[Text] The main force which unites the big criminals are the big time drug dealers, whose daily operation adds up to millions of shekels. The intelligence target of the police are those big criminals who work through agents and sub-agents. The big criminals are never caught red-handed. One gram of cocaine now costs \$50, and the daily dosage of a heroin addict is worth 6000 shekels. The use of hard drugs leads to a long chain of crimes in order to get the money for buying the stuff.

Other big criminals get rich as middlemen in various business deals, laundering illegal money, smuggling and swindling. Among some ethnic groups one can find homogeneous groups which in part specialize in sophisticated crime. Thus, for example, there are gangs of Georgian Jews which take a big bite of the bitter pie of Israeli crime.

Settling accounts among gangs is a law thing. In 1950 some 15 members of the underworld were liquidated in a lawless way as part of a mutual settling of accounts. In the heat of battle Hayim Schmertz was killed by mistake, and the killers compensated his widow with 20,000 Israeli pounds (a large sum in those days). The few who have given up crime are those big timers who have made a lot of money and decided to live less dangerously.

One of Israel's leading burglars and robbers (the name is in our files) is now a successful contractor in the U.S. One of the former dangerous burglars is now building a government office complex in Western Europe. Betzalel Mizrahi himself, who before the press publicity was an information source for the police though nothing was proved against him (he even won a libel suit against HA'ARETZ), spends part of the year in Los Angeles while his two sons conduct his affairs in Israel. Most of the 11 who were mentioned in the famous "Document 11" leaked by a policeman in the intelligence branch of the

Tel Aviv police department as information sources, are no longer alive, and some are behind bars. There is no proof against some of them, but it is known that one of them was a member of a gang of pilots and flight attendants who for a long time smuggled gold from Cyprus to India where they sold it for a double price. There is evidence against another one who has laundered illegal money and sent it abroad. According to one person's testimony, he and his partners transferred funds stolen by Asher Yadin.

Attorney Yesha'yahu Levitt, a long time criminal lawyer, argues that in time most big criminals turn to legitimate business. A number of restaurants are owned by retired criminals who made money and who have gone straight, and some use the business as a cover-up.

Levitt mentioned a known criminal from the list of the 11 (the name is in our files). He is now an invalid, because of bullet wounds, and he deals in hard drugs while running a successful business in the center of Israel. He is also a partner in several well known factories. Another member of the 11 group (the name is in our files) who owned a large private company in the south of Tel Aviv has helped many public figures without getting anything in return. He is suspected of having collected protection fees for a long time in south Tel Aviv, but the police have not been able to pin him down.

"The big time crooks are now using sophisticated methods--the robbery at Bank Le'umi in Ramat Aviv using a non-existent bomb; the collecting of a large sum of money from Bank Le'umi in Rishon Le-Tziyon through a staged phone call, with the partner of the robber answering the call at the other end and authorizing the payment; those are rather sophisticated robberies. Computers are also used in such crimes, but this would require electronic and computer experience," says Levitt.

In most deception cases people's naivete is taken advantage of, or the fact that a person is unable to complain. Some criminals who work as partners (the names are in our files) have deceived scores of Jews from South Africa who needed help to smuggle funds into Israel. The money has disappeared and the Jews who committed a serious offense (it is illegal to take money out of South Africa) cannot come out and claim their money. The criminologists we have interviewed argue that most crime originates in the slums. Street gangs are formed, leaders influence their groups. There is native crime and there is also imported crime. Nearly all of them agree that the immigration from Soviet Georgia gave rise to Georgian gangs which are mainly family affairs admitting no outsiders. There are gangs in Israel made up of Jews and non-Jews. Some residents of the territories occupy a central place in Israeli gangs.

Police Superintendent Amnon Shamash, head of intelligence in the Tel Aviv area, argues that he is short of 25 percent of the manpower needed to do his job properly and that there is a high turnover in the police. One of the detectives shows me his paycheck stub, including all the shifts (the police does not pay overtime), which totals 22,500 shekels net. Another detective, married with one child, gets 27,500 shekels. But they like their work, and there are volunteers who help and offer their private vehicles for detective work.

We go out on patrol with Officer Sami Hamama of the Ramat Gan police. There are some intelligence objectives that have been predetermined, but the night is quiet. Says Sami: "When the watermelon season is at its peak, crime goes down, but when the season ends crime doubles." The work method is based on investigations, but principally on intelligence information, mainly from plants and collaborators among the criminals themselves. During a police raid, the informants are arrested and investigated like everyone else in order to keep the source of information a secret.

M. (the name is in our files), a known criminal, was caught near a cafe in Ramat Gan. He is taken to an apartment to look for drugs but nothing is found. Meanwhile, they look for a woman named Hana who has cashed dozens of bad checks.

The main event was going to be a search for Arab workers suspected of stealing from a factory where they work the night shift. The vehicle taking the workers home is chased by the police but nothing is found. They apologize and go on. A cafe is raided. The owner is suspected of buying stolen goods. Equipment inside the cafe is taken apart to verify the version of the suspect as to the source of the purchase.

A. (the name is in our files), an underworld person who has served six jail terms, says that in Israel a criminal cannot be reformed. "No one wants to employ an ex-criminal, and the police harass us whenever something happens in our area."

Many criminals cannot escape crime because of drug addiction. Most prostitutes are drug addicts, and they support "leeches," or other addicts who depend on them.

Non-Jews are involved in 80 percent of property-related crime in Israel. Thefts go up especially on Wednesdays and Thursdays, when the non-Jews return to the towns and villages in the territories. YOMAN HASHAVI'A found out that nine out of ten weapons used by criminals were stolen from the IDF by soldiers. The price of the weapon is not high because of the large supply.

One of the big drug centers is the Neve Sharet section of Tel Aviv. Two families living in the area (the names are in our files) provide a large part of the drug trade, mostly for the neighborhood, but also for the area.

The big timers are those who have large front businesses, or those who have become rich smuggling drugs. But the list of police sources of information also includes individuals who became rich quickly. "Don't be surprised," a police senior officers tells me, "If we gather information on some public figures who are connected with well-known Knesset members."

Shema'ya Angel, his wife Sarah and Hayim Sason are being tried in district court for the murder of Michelle Nehemias and Shulamit Sheli--both drug dealers--to keep them quiet. When it comes to drug deals which involve millions of shekels each day the dealers do not hesitate to eliminate adversaries who get in their way. The Kahol gang in Jaffa has killers for hire and there are

many in Israel who are willing to do this work in order to get rich quickly. There are about 60,000 non-Jews from the territories who live in the Tel Aviv area, some of whom live from crime. Muhammad 'Isa from Gaza told me: "We come from Gaza. We pay for food and transportation. We wait at the stadium for work. Those who do not get work may go to steal from private residences or take clothes of clothes lines and sell them."

Officer Yosi, head detective in the Yarkon district, says that unlike in the past, Arabs from the territories are no longer detained by the police for staying overnight if they are found without a work permit. They can now walk the streets freely at night. The reason: A judicial opinion has determined that the offense begins at the place of residence, that is, if an Arab comes from Gaza, the offense begins upon leaving that town. This means opening a file in Gaza and sending police officers there to testify in court, for which the police are not equipped. In recent years there has been a sharp increase in property offenses in the big cities.

Head of the investigations department, Commander Yehezqel Qarti, argues that the police are making efforts to keep criminals in jail until the trial in order to reduce crime and shorten the legal process. (A suspect who is in jail is brought to trial sooner.) Israeli organized crime is centered mainly in Tel Aviv. Qarti confirms that in the list of big time criminals there are now dozens of names. About 80 percent of crime in Israel is property related, including burglaries in private residences and businesses, car theft and pick-pockets. In this type of crime the police go all out and last year there was a drop in the number of cases. There was, however, a rise in armed robberies, rape, public disorder and other major crimes.

Crime is on the rise in Israel, especially because of drugs. People steal in order to buy drugs. This operation leads to violent crime and the settling of accounts. "Nearly all murders are related to drugs," says Qarti. On the other hand, bank robbery has almost disappeared, perhaps because of the successful investigation that led to the arrest of Hertzal Avitan and his associates, including his wife Urit Arviv, who were found guilty in the case of the Bank Le'umi robbery in Ramat Aviv and later in the murder of Roni Nitzan, the chief of the Ramleh jail.

"Compared to Western countries, we are still in good shape. One can still walk freely at night, which is not the case in the U.S.," says Qarti. The police are making the public more aware of safety, marking property and lobbying for legislation in matters of security related to obtaining a license for businesses such as banks, gas stations and new buildings. A bank does not get a license if it does not install armored money boxes and alarm systems. Gas stations have to install cash box in a cement floor, and the attendant is not allowed to carry a large sum of money. Contractors have to install special windows and doors on the ground floor of a new building.

But crime is not standing still. Criminals are taking advantage of the technological age and are using instruments and tools, fast vehicles, means of communication and any kind of gadget that can help them with their work. The

greatest sophistication is seen in commercial crime, including fraud with the help of computers and financial manipulations in the stock market. "The stock market is one big laundry for processing stolen goods, embezzlements and illegal funds. A great fortune goes through the stock market and it cannot be tracked down," says Qartl.

According to Qartl, the famous gangs now operating in Israel are Georgian. "Those are special kind of people who excel in every area, especially in forging dollars, dealing in stolen merchandise and hard drugs. They work in family groups and clans. It is very difficult to crack such groups. Most of the jewelry stores on Allenby Street in Tel Aviv belong to Georgians, and some of them deal in stolen jewelry which is melted down on the spot."

Academic criminologists, on the other hand, argue that Israel's expert criminals come from all ethnic groups, and the less clever get caught, especially Oriental Jews. The part of women in crime is marginal. Most are prostitutes, drug dealers and are involved with stolen merchandise. There are some female pickpockets. As for juvenile delinquents, Qartl says: "The Yitzhaq Yitzhaqi law has caused us great damage. We can no longer prosecute youth under 13 years of age. We now have non-Jewish youth active in the Israeli gangs, since they work in the cities and are active in nearly all types of crime."

As for neighboring countries, says Qartl, there are no problems on the Egyptian border. As for Lebanon, quite a few IDF soldiers were caught collaborating with Lebanese criminals, especially smugglers, because of the huge profits. "Dozens of IDF soldiers are sitting in jail, and there is a tremendous pressure in smuggling. The price of hashish in Israel is four times as much as in Lebanon. The Israeli market is flooded with drugs, but the drug fighting operation has also been expanded. The average national percentage of crime solving in Israel is only 22 percent. In small communities the percentage is 80 to 90 percent. In urban areas it is only 10-15 percent. The percentage of finding criminals who steal from parked cars is only 2-3 percent, while the tracking down of rapists and robbers, according to Qartl, reaches 50-60 percent.

Shmu'el (Sami) Nehemias who served for 7 years as national intelligence officer in the Israeli Police, during which time Document 11 was leaked to the press, says: "There is now sophisticated fraud amounting to millions of dollars, and there are many Israeli criminals who operate abroad. I am working now on discovering Israeli international crime." Nehemias argues that police intelligence does not know the real big time criminals who pull the strings behind the scenes. One of the criminals committed crimes while in jail, and the police did not know about it. In regard to Betzalel Mizrahi he says: "According to stories I have heard about Mizrahi, he was the kind of a person I was willing to shoot. He drove a big black car, which added to his bad image. When I met him he told me, I have laid down miles of tiles, what do they want from me? He was a nice person, and I immediately changed my mind about him. They also tell stories about Gandi (Retired General Ze'evi). Stories do not make one a criminal.

The public wants to see an operational body putting an end to crime. Because of the bankruptcy of the executive system, more and more debt collectors are

being employed by businesses. Nehemias says in regard to organized crime: "There is a change today in the trend and character of crime. Money is power, and instead of muscles and force people are now looking for financing. There is now sophisticated fraud planned in air-conditioned rooms which also employ lawyers in case of.... The public now buys data. This is the sophisticated crime-buying data regarding stocks. Printers are bribed to reveal contracts and vital information. A postal office is paid to open envelopes with bids the night before the delivery."

Nehemias estimates that there are today 300 Israeli criminals operating around the world. One of them is Rahel Mizrahi Wolfson, who recently defrauded a diamond company in Miami of \$2 million.

[Question] How did Document 11 come about?

[Answer] I asked all the districts to send me sources of information, and I received 70 names. Document 11 was the Tel Aviv list, and it was leaked to the press by a sergeant who was later fired. The 10 I presented are all in jail. What I can say about Document 11 is that Rahamim Aharoni, for example, was cleared in four murder cases until he was caught and prosecuted. Rafi Sha'uli came to me and asked me to clear his name. Monya Shapira helped many people. He owns the Scala cafe and the "Country Club" in Ramat Hasharon.

In regard to the police I can say that criminals are not afraid of the police. They know it does not have the manpower and the time needed to deal with crime.

M. (name kept in our files) from the Hatikva suburb of Tel Aviv says: "Since the age of 15 I have used drugs, and so did my brothers. Where can we get the money? We burglarize, rob, extort. Qerem Hatemanim is today one big warehouse of drugs. Anyone who turns to drugs, and the number grows every day (the police says that it includes lawyers, doctors and public figures), in the end gets involved with the underworld."

Crime in Israel in recent years has grown in size and power. Despite some successful police operations, the Israeli underworld continues to amass money and power, and its influence sometimes reaches the top echelons of government, and to this day the police have not been able to put crime under control. There are many excuses: lack of budget, lack of manpower, lack of authority and inadequate laws. In recent years there has been no serious discussion of crime in the Knesset. Knesset members and ministers, like the rest of Israeli citizens, prefer to hide their heads in the sand and disregard the severity of the situation regarding the Israeli underworld.

"There are seasons in crime. In the summer there are many burglaries. People are away on vacation, doors and shutters are open. There are many pickpockets on the beaches and many rapes, because of the tempting clothes of the girls, and rise in sexual crimes during the summer is considerable." On the other hand, in the wintertime there are more vehicle thefts. It is cold and wet and people steal cars to go home.

An internal document of the Israel Police shows the rate of crime in Israel during the 6 month period from January to June 1983 compared to last year:

<u>Type of Crime</u>	<u>Total cases investigated</u>		<u>Change %</u>	<u>Open Cases</u>	
	January (1983)	June (1982)		January - June (1983)	January - June (1982)
Security	448	465	- 3.7	68.5	56.1
Public order	7347	8105	- 9.3	62.0	62.1
Human life	133	133	-	52.4	49.6
Human body	4369	5117	-14.6	64.0	60.2
Sex	939	1107	-15.2	48.3	45.1
Morality	2035	1781	+14.3	61.5	57.5
Property	94039	84147	+11.8	10.1	11.0
Fraud	6634	4255	+55.9	37.2	42.0
Economic	107	170	-37.1	65.4	79.4
Administrative	47	42	+11.9	48.9	50.0

Crime in 1983

The following crimes took place in Israel in January-June 1983:

<u>Crime</u>	<u>Jan-Jun 82</u>	<u>Jan-Jun 83</u>
Murder	39	36
Assault on policeman	134	164
Ordinary assault	775	648
Forced rape	81	113
Forced indecent act	166	144
Use of hard drugs	983	1321
Drug trade	721	638
Checks without funds	1927	2351

9565

CSO: 4423/14

REHABILITATION OF REFUGEES IN W. BANK, GAZA REVIEWED

TA201127 Tel Aviv DAVAR in Hebrew 20 Nov 83 p 5

[Commentary by Dani Tzidon: "Personifying the Refugees"]

[Text] It has recently been reported that the Israeli Government is going to discuss Minister Without Portfolio Mordekhay Ben-Porat's plan to rehabilitate Palestinian refugees in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip. The publicity over this issue has given the impression that nothing has been done to date on the matter, although Israel has been rehabilitating refugee families in the Gaza Strip for the past 10 years, even if not at the speed required. If there is anything new in Ben-Porat's proposals, it is in the expansion of the project to include West Bank refugees, too, about 80,000 people compared with about 170,000 refugees who are still living in eight refugee camps in the Gaza Strip (Jabalyah, Shatti, (Nusayrat al-Burj), Dayr al-Balah, Khan Yunus, Rafah).

Before the cabinet discussion of this issue, it is worth reviewing, in brief, what has been done to date to rehabilitate the refugees in the Gaza Strip. For this purpose we must return to "Gaza of the handgrenades," in 1971. As part of the war against terrorism, the person who was then commander of the Southern Command, Ari'el Sharon, ordered patrol roads to be built inside the refugee camps in the region, which was under the almost complete control of the terrorist organizations. Building the roads in the refugee camps forced the military government to evacuate hundreds of families, whose huts were located on the roads along which the army was patrolling. This is how the refugees' tragedy was repeated. For the second time in their lives they were expelled from their homes; some of them were driven away, against their will, as far as al-'Arish, where vacant buildings stood at the military government's disposal, those of the Egyptian Army and of the town's inhabitants who had fled from it. The Palestinians did not stay for a long time in "Egypt," and with the implementation of the peace agreement, they went back to the Gaza Strip.

It was the building of the roads that gave birth, in the Gaza Strip military government headquarters, to the branch for refugee rehabilitation, which has been headed by a senior military government employee, Rafi Sade, ever since.

This mini-minister of housing has since then included about 8,000 Palestinian refugee families as part of what has been described in the Israeli lexicon as "housing solutions." The first activities in the field of rehabilitation met

with many difficulties. Apart from the budget limitations, there was also reluctance on the part of the refugees, during the period when the PLO actually controlled the area, to cooperate with the conquering authorities, even on a matter involving their welfare.

It was clear to the Israeli authorities that there was political significance in eliminating the refugee problem and that the success of the project could take away an important political card from the hands of the Arabs who were hostile to Israel. A great effort was needed to make it clear to the hesitant refugees that their rehabilitation was for humanitarian reasons and there was no intention to invalidate their status and rights as refugees.

At first the authorities approached the campaign in a standard way, as was the custom in Israel during the 1950's, and carried it out with prefabricated buildings. It turned out that this did not fit in with the expectations and needs of the refugees. People from the refugees rehabilitation branch drew conclusions and about 4 years ago they developed the idea of "build your own home." Some 5,000 rehabilitated refugee families are now living in homes they built themselves using this method. The refugees in the Gaza Strip get the plots with a substantial subsidy, although the land is a very expensive commodity in this densely populated area. At the same time, the aid extended to the refugee who builds his home on state land was most modest. We must recall that getting land and aid from the government for housing depends on the demolition of the refugees' home in the refugee camp. Thus, the Israeli authorities hope, at the end of the process the miserable, crowded camps will disappear from the Gaza Strip scene.

The chance to build their own homes took the refugees out of the protracted process of decline they had been in the camps. The entire family was recruited for the building project and every free moment was used for it. Thus a system of mutual aid was created between neighbors with different professions, with each one contributing his professional expertise to the building of his friend's home. In order to finance the building the whole family also went to work. Today many villas and cottages owned by refugees can be seen in the Gaza Strip, of good quality, built with the work of the hands of the refugees themselves.

The refugees' social status, which was at a nadir, improved and a new balance was created in the relations between them and the permanent residents. Ownership of the land in traditional Arab society, gives the owner a respected status and so thousands of landless refugees became citizens with status in the eyes of themselves and those around them, and this to the displeasure of the permanent residents of the area, who are not included in the rehabilitation scheme because of the high cost of land and its shortage and cannot have a home of their own like the happy refugees. The refugees enjoy new quarters with a good infrastructure established by the military government and community services supplied by the military government and the municipalities in whose jurisdiction they live, but, despite the achievements, the process of eliminating the refugee problem in the Gaza Strip is still far from being solved. In order to attain this humanitarian goal, which has both political and security benefits, Israel will have to find housing solutions in the Gaza Strip for about 30,000 refugee families within the next 5 years or for about 40,000 during the next 7 or 10 years, because of the population's natural growth rate.

Unlike the first years of the project, demand is greater than supply today. The population of the camps, and mainly the younger generation, has learned to know Israel and has grown used to the idea that it is essential to make a distinction between the problem of the liberation of Palestine and the need to be rehabilitated and work to improve the family's living conditions. On the other hand, people who work in the rehabilitation branch in the Gaza Strip have begun to think recently about high-rise buildings, within the framework of the third stage of the program to rehabilitate refugees in the area, and this is because of the shortage of land. Jewish settlements have been established on an appreciable part of the "state land" in the area, although the Gaza Strip, from the historical aspect, is not the land of our fathers. About 26,000 dunams of "state land" on the Gaza coast has been given to the Israeli local council. It was for this reason, for instance, that no solution was found for the refugees of the Day al-Balah camp, and there are no solutions for the three refugee camps in the area: (Mu'azzi), (al-Burj) and (Nusayrat). High-rise building, if it is adopted by the authorities and the population, could supply housing solutions for refugees and the original inhabitants of the area. In the beginning or experimental stage, the buildings will reach a height of four stories and will apparently be the new solution to the housing problem of the Gaza Strip. The Government of Israel, which aspires to annex it to the Jewish state, will not be able to get out of the responsibility for its solution. The turn from the method of "build your own home" to communal buildings will require that the project's budgets be increased and linked to a specific date, unlike the "build your own home" system which was put entirely into the hands of the refugees themselves. It should be noted that the UNRWA organization, which has not welcomed the project, has also not gone out of its way to condemn it, and in fact its attitude toward it can be described as silent agreement.

The rehabilitation of the refugees in the Gaza Strip has also made an immediate contribution to what we call "routine security." According to information that has reached me, not one of the rehabilitated refugees in the Gaza Strip has been involved in terrorist activity against us and the army authorities have also not been forced to destroy any house built for refugees or a house that refugees built for themselves as part of the rehabilitation project. It is worth thinking of this in view of what is happening in Ad-Duhayshah and Balatah in the West Bank.

It is clear that the rehabilitation of 170,000 Gaza Strip refugees and 80,000 West Bank refugees (and what about the refugees of Lebanon?) will not extinguish their nationalist aspirations, but it bears with it a chance for the creation of a component in the population that will show more openness for talking.

By the way, the 8,000 refugee families in the Gaza Strip who have been rehabilitated by the Israeli administration live in the following camps: in Bayt Lahiyah in the north of the strip--refugees from Jabalyah; in Shaykh Ridwan in Gaza--refugees from Shatti; in "al-Amal" (Hope) in Khan Yunus--the refugees from Khan Yunus; in the Deqel A, B and G quarters of Rafah--the refugees from Rafah. The Canada camp, which was established in that town, has, as is known, remained on the Egyptian side of the town and in the meantime, because of the Egyptians' refusal, no arrangement has been found to return its residents to the Palestinian side of Rafah, where plots are awaiting them in another refugee rehabilitation camp, Tall al-Sultan.

NEW WEST BANK SETTLEMENT PLANNED NEAR OLD ELON MORE SITE

TA172042 Jerusalem Television Service in Hebrew 1900 GMT 17 Nov 83

[Excerpts] Four years ago the High Court of Justice ordered the Elon More settlers to vacate the site on the lands of Rujayb village near Nabulus. This week the Ministerial Committee on Settlement Affairs decided to establish a new settlement close to the vacated site, to be called Tel Hayyim. Thus Jewish settlers will shortly return to the area near the first Elon More settlement. Rami Gobernik, our correspondent for settlement affairs, reports on returning to the land in Rujayb:

[Begin videotape] Exactly 4 years ago the High Court of Justice decided that the state must pull the settlers out of Elon More, which was on the lands of the Arab village of Rujayb. These lands, about 800 dunams in all, had been expropriated by the army on security grounds, and the attorney general had approved the establishment of the settlement. Today Elon More is located on Jabal al-Kabir, east of Nabulus, 8 km north of Rujayb.

Meanwhile, through brokers, the government has secretly bought up more than 100 dunams of this Rujayb land. This week the Ministerial Committee on Settlement Affairs decided to establish the communal settlement of Tel Hayyim. The outermost point of the planned settlement, which will go up on state-owned land, is only about 500 meters away from what is left of the original Elon More, and now, 4 years later, the possibility has evolved of settling the land that was previously vacated by order of the High Court of Justice.

All that remains of what was there before is the dirt track to Rujayb. This will be tarred and asphalted, and will be the access road to the lands of Rujayb and, from there, to Tel Hayyim. [End videotape]

CSO: 4400/72

BRIEFS

DEFENSE IMPORTS DOWN--During the first half of the year Israel reduced defense imports by 56 percent and fuel imports by 28 percent in order to prevent a dangerous deterioration in the balance of payments. This was indicated by data published yesterday by the Central Bureau of Statistics. The data show a continuing worsening of the economy, since the reduction of defense and fuel imports is offset by an increase in all other imports. American aid has also been reduced, exports have declined, and the foreign debts of the state have grown. These are the vital statistics: During the first half of the year imports have exceeded exports by \$2.353 billion, compared to \$2.447 billion last year at this time. This is a drop of 4 percent in the deficit of the balance of payments. During the same period the unilateral income declined by 26 percent and totalled \$1.098 billion. The net debt of the economy rose by \$596 million. In the first half of 1983, the import of goods and services fell 5 percent and totalled \$7.162 billion. Most of the drop in imports results from the reduction in defense imports from \$888 million to \$392 million, and from the reduction of fuel imports from \$980 million to \$706 million during that period. Goods and services exports dropped by 5 percent. Goods exports, totalling \$2.754 billion, showed a drop of 2 percent. Services exports, totalling \$2.055 billion, fell 9 percent, because of the decline in interest income. Unilateral income (grants and loans) from abroad declined in the first half of the year by 26 percent. U.S. aid during the period was reduced by \$388 million. Net government debts rose by \$600 million in 6 months, compared to an increase of \$484 million during the same period last year. Private sector debts, excluding banks, grew by \$679 million (compared to \$209 million during first half of 1982). This rise in private sector foreign debts reflects foreign investments in the stocks of Israeli banks. Bank foreign debts have decreased, during the same period, by \$112 million. In late June 1983 net foreign debts totalled \$16 billion compared to \$15.1 billion last year. [Text] [Tel Aviv YEDI'OT AHARONOT in Hebrew 28 Oct 83 p 2] 9565

DINAR LEGAL IN W. BANK, NOT ISRAEL--An Israeli citizen who wants to purchase foreign currency in cash in a Israeli bank must, as of this week, present to the bank a passport and an airline ticket. We found out that this rule does not apply to all Israeli citizens, or to all Israeli banks or to all foreign currencies. In Israeli banks on the West Bank one can buy an unlimited amount of Jordanian dinars. The purchase is perfectly legal, since the dinar is legal tender on the West Bank. An Israeli citizen who buys dinars on the West Bank becomes a law-breaker only when he crosses the green line. Inside the State of Israel of the pre-1967 borders, the dinar is defined as a bona fide foreign currency. One can only own dinars up to a value of \$3000. On Monday

now, the dinar was worth 225 shekels. We asked Estee Shuminer of the office of the Bank of Israel spokesman, what the law is for Israeli citizens who live on the West Bank with regard to dinars. "The law regarding Israelis living in Judaea and Samaria is the same as the rest of the residents there," she told us. "They can purchase as many dinars as they wish and use them locally, where the dinar is legal tender. The law does not allow them to bring dinars into Israel." It turns out that the green line still lives. The Begin-Ehrlich government has erased it. The Shamir government has revived it. Now there is an added reason to live on the West Bank. The West Bank is the Switzerland of Israel, a paradise for foreign currency seekers. We will not be surprised if soon someone will suggest the dinarization of the State of Israel. The time may have come. [Text] [Tel Aviv KOTERET RASHIT in Hebrew No 48, 7 Nov 83 p 7] 4345

CONTINUED BUILDING IN W. BANK--Construction in Judaea and Samaria will not be put back, and the building of 2,400 apartments is beginning in the current fiscal year. Most of the apartments are located in urban settlements: Alfe Menashe, Arif'el, 'Imanu'el, Ma'ale Adummim, and Qarne Shomron. Our correspondent Shalom Oren reports that the investment in these apartments, the public and education buildings, as well as the new roads, will total 10 billion shekels. This sum includes the establishment of six new settlements in the inner parts of Judaea and Samaria: Berakha near Nabulus, and Adora in the southern Hebron Hills, which have already been built; Hermesh in northern Samaria; Dolev north of Bet El; and 'Otni'el and Kokheva in the southern Hebron Hills. The settlement leaders in Judaea and Samaria charge that the Housing Ministry has frozen building in the inner regions this year, and given priority to the Alon plan. The Housing Ministry rejects these charges. [Text] [TA181007 Jerusalem Domestic Service in Hebrew 0900 GMT 18 Nov 83]

OCTOBER TRADE DEFICIT--The Israeli trade deficit in October was \$300 million, which is more than double the September trade deficit. The export of goods reached \$440 million while the import of goods reached \$740 million. It should be noted that the September deficit was especially low. [Summary] [TA111609 Tel Aviv HA'ARETZ in Hebrew 10 Nov 83 p 2]

UNEMPLOYMENT DOWN--Unemployment in Israel continued to drop the third quarter of the year and has reached 4.2 percent, the lowest rate since 1979, when the unemployment rate was 2.9 percent. The number of unemployed in the third quarter of the year totalled about 52,000 only. It should be noted that Israel's unemployment rate, minus the seasonal factor, for the first quarter of 1982 was 5.4 percent, and since then has dropped steadily until it reached 3.9 percent in the third quarter of 1983. The rate of unemployed men during that period dropped from 4.5 percent to 3.6 percent, and unemployed women from 6.8 to 4.4 percent. [Text] [TA221733 Tel Aviv HA'ARETZ in Hebrew 22 Nov 83 p 2]

W. BANK CONSTRUCTION PLANS--By next 31 March, 2,400 housing units will have been started in the West Bank, the Housing Ministry predicted on Friday. Also put under construction during the year will be nine schools, 12 pre-schools and day-care centres, swimming pools, sport facilities, synagogues and commercial centres. Roads being built include those connecting Modi'in and Bet Sira, Ma'ale Adummim and French Hill, the Harsina road, a road from Giv'at Ze'ev to Ramon, one from Morasha to ('Kafr Qasim), a ('Kafr Qasim) bypass and other highways south of Hebron. Work is getting under way at Hermesh, one of six new settlements to be built in the West Bank, Adora and Berakka have recently

been completed, and work will begin soon at 'Otni'el, Dolev and Kokkera, the ministry announced. Speaking Friday night on the Voice of Israel, Science and Development Minister Yuval Ne'eman expressed hope that all 4,000 building starts originally budgeted will be realized, without being affected by budget cuts. Ne'eman ridiculed arguments by anti-settlement groups that the country's economy is suffering because of building in the territories. Settlements take only 1 percent of the state budget, he said, so their effect on the economic situation is minimal. [Text] [TA200810 Jerusalem THE JERUSALEM POST in English 20 Nov 83 p 2]

PSYCHIATRIC PATIENT STATISTICS--More than 100,000 people living in Israel today have been admitted at least once for psychological treatment. Today, in psychiatric hospitals throughout Israel, there are 8,456 patients, the great majority of whom are chronically ill. More than 65 percent of these have been hospitalized for more than 1 year. Information on and an evaluation of mental health services available through the Ministry of Health will be discussed at an international conference on psychological aberrations in society being conducted in Jerusalem. These details were reported by Dr Mikha'el Rahav, director of the Department for the Evaluation of Mental Health Services within the Ministry of Health. Dr Rahav criticized the public for creating stereotypes and treating the mentally ill like criminals guilty of murder or rape. "There is no proof that the mentally ill are involved to a greater degree than other people in violent crimes. But the press hurries to hang various crimes on mental patients, creating an image of the mentally ill as dangerous and violent." In fact, according to Rahav, the opposite is true. Most mental patients suffer from a lack of self-confidence and a broken, negative self-image wherein the central problem is a lack of self-esteem and the inability to protect themselves and their rights. The chairman of the Humanitarian Society, Hania Rodani, in discussing society's attitude toward the mentally ill, said: "The patient is not a murderer or a rapist, but a highly sensitive and humanitarian person who, because of his sensitivity has difficulty contending with the world around him. [Text] [Tel Aviv MA'ARIV in Hebrew 6 Oct 83 p 2] 9811

MORE EDUCATED POPULATION--The educational level of the Israeli population has risen continuously during the past 2 decades. Among the Jewish population aged 14 and above, the proportion of those with more than an elementary education has increased from 45 percent in 1961 to 70 percent in 1982. The proportion of those with full or partial education beyond the high school level doubled between 1961 and 1982 and stands today at 22 percent. Among other things this development reflects a lengthening in the period of study of the generation educated in Israel. In the 25-44 age group, for example, most of them educated in Israel, a third of them in 1982 had 13 or more years of study. These statistics, along with additional data on the education of the population, are in the new statistical annual to be published today. From the statistics in the annual it is also apparent that the proportion of school children aged 6-13 in the non-Jewish population who are in school increased from 87 percent in 1970 to 94 percent. [Text] [Tel Aviv DAVAR in Hebrew 17 Oct 83 p 10] 9794

ROAD CONSTRUCTION AGREEMENT SIGNED WITH SWEDEN

Amman JORDAN TIMES in English 31 Oct 83 p 3

[Text]

AMMAN (J.T.) — Jordan and Sweden Sunday signed an agreement on bilateral cooperation in the field of road building and engineering. Under the five year agreement, both sides will cooperate in the field of road building, especially highways, and the exchange experience and expertise in this respect and will launch cooperation between engineering institutions in both countries in the field of road construction.

The cooperation entails the exchange of views and experience in the planning, design and construction stages of road maintenance, the holding of joint seminars and exhibitions in both countries in this field and the offering of facilities to each other in order to facilitate activity in this field and within the provisions of the agreement.

Both sides agreed to form a joint committee to supervise the implementation of the agreement and to follow up the implementation of projects emanating from the agreement.

The agreement will be renewable after five years at the consent of both parties.

The agreement was signed by Minister of Public Works Awni Al Masri and the visiting Swedish Minister of Transport and Communications, Curt Bostrom.

Later Mr. Bostrom held a meeting with Mr. Masri and exchanged views on ways of further promoting cooperation between Jordan and Sweden.

Mr. Masri briefed the Swedish minister on his ministry's programmes and projects, and both ministers expressed the hope that the agreement signed Sunday will usher in a new era of fruitful cooperation between their two countries.

Mr. Bostrom expressed his appreciation to the Jordanian government for allowing him and his accompanying delegation the chance of inspecting Jordan's development projects.

Mr. Bostrom extended an invitation to Mr. Masri to visit Sweden in order to study its road construction systems and programme and to pursue negotiations on bilateral cooperation.

Later on, Mr. Bostrom met Transport Minister Ali Suheimat with whom he reviewed the ministry's activities in transport-related affairs, and both expressed hope that the two countries will launch fresh cooperation in the future in transport fields.

Mr. Bostrom also extended an invitation to Mr. Suheimat to visit Sweden to look into road and communications systems and to discuss further cooperation.

The meeting was attended by senior officials and Sweden's ambassador to Jordan Ingemar Stjernberg. In the afternoon Mr. Bostrom visited the King Hussein Bridge across the River Jordan, and the Dead Sea.

Mr. Bostrom was accompanied by his delegation and several officials from the Ministries of Communications and Public Works as well as the Swedish ambassador.

The Swedish minister and his accompanying delegation arrived in Amman Saturday evening for a four-day visit to Jordan and for talks with officials.

The delegation is to hold talks with officials at the Telecommunications Corporation, the Royal Scientific Society and will also tour archaeological sites in the country.

SOLAR ENERGY RESEARCH CENTER

Amman JORDAN TIMES in English 1 Nov 83 p 3

[Text]

AMMAN (Petra) — His Royal Highness Crown Prince Hassan, president of the Royal Scientific Society (RSS) board of trustees, has approved the establishment of a solar energy research centre at the RSS and appointing of Dr. Ham Fawzi Al Mulqi as director of the centre.

The centre aims to carry out studies and applied research in addition to providing specialised consultation technical services in the field of solar and wind energy applications, an RSS spokesman said.

He added that the centre also aims at assessing the requirements and priorities of solar and wind energy application in Jordan, designing and developing equipment and appliance that can be locally manufactured for the employment of this energy, making models as well as to build experimental preliminary stations to evaluate and develop this equipments.

Solar energy research activities and its practical applications have been carried out by the mechanical engineering department of the RSS in the past.

CSO: 4400/74

OIL SHALE DEVELOPMENT

Amman JORDAN TIMES in English 3-4 Nov 83 p 3

[Text]

AMMAN (J.T.) - The Natural Resources Authority (NRA) estimates that 800 million tonnes of oil can be extracted from shale found at Jurf Al Darawish in southern Jordan. NRA director of geological research and mining, Dr. Mohammad Abu Ajamieh, said that the region's shale reserves are estimated at 14 billion tonnes.

The West German consortium of Kloeckner Industrie-Anlagen, which conducted a feasibility study on the region's resources, recommended that 55 wells be drilled in the region of Lajjun to help in estimating the amounts of shale oil.

So far 15 such wells have been drilled reaching to a depth of 545

metres in addition to four others reaching to 146 metres deep. Mr. Abu Ajamieh said.

In the central regions of Jordan, Mr. Ajamieh added, the NRA conducted research at Al Sultaneh where it drilled 20 wells reaching to a depth of 1,900 metres.

However, samples of shale oil taken from Al Hasa are not encouraging but work is continuing in other places, Mr. Ajamieh continued.

Oil shale is also found in varying quantities near Irbid, Ramtha and Amman and in other regions in Jordan in addition to the Lajjun deposits which, according to estimates, should yield about 20 gallons of oil for each tonne of shale.

CSO: 4400/74

FIRST STAGE OF SOUTH GHOR IRRIGATION PROJECT BEGUN

Amman JORDAN TIMES in English 8 Nov 83 p 3

[Text]

AMMAN (Petra) — Jordan Valley Authority (JVA) President Dr. Munther Haddadin said JVA has started the implementation of the first stage of the South Ghor Irrigation Project on lands south of the Dead Sea at a total cost of JD 20 million.

The project provides for the construction of dams on the Ibn Hammad, Al Karak, Al Thira', Al Hassa, Fifah and Khanzirah wadis, and the laying of pipe networks for pressurised water which will be used to irrigate farm land, Dr. Haddadin said.

The stored water will be sufficient to irrigate 46,000 dunums in south Ghor, he added. The project also includes the construction of canals to dispose of excess rain and subterranean water in the area, he added.

The second stage of the project includes the diversion of Wadi Al Mujib water and the construction of the Tannur Dam on Wadi Al Hassa to irrigate an area of 50,000 dunums, Dr. Haddadin said.

The third stage will include the construction of the Rnail Dam on Wadi Al Walah and the Nakhil Dam on Wadi Al Mujib in order to expand the irrigated land area, he added.

Dr. Haddadin pointed out that the authority is extending social, educational and health services to the project area in addition to providing villages with drinking water and electric current.

The economic feasibility of the project is obvious and this vital endeavour will help economic development in Jordan considerably, Dr. Haddadin said.

The Kuwait Fund for Arab Economic Development contributes JD 9 million to the financing of the project and the Saudi Fund for Development contributes JD 1.7 million.

The Italian government is supporting the project with soft as well as commercial loans totalling JD 2.6 million while the rest of the money needed for financing the project will be provided by the treasury, Dr. Haddadin concluded.

CSO: 4400/74

PHOSPHATES TO KOREA

Amman JORDAN TIMES in English 8 Nov 83 p 3

[Text]

AMMAN (Petra) — The first ship to carry raw Jordanian phosphates and potash left the port of Aqaba bound for South Korea Monday, according to a spokesman for the Jordan Phosphate Mines Company (JPMC).

The ship was laden with 21,600 tonnes of phosphates and 4,500 tonnes of potash, according to the spokesman, who added that this is the first of two consignments of phosphates which will be exported to South Korea this year with a total tonnage of 54,000.

The spokesman added that the quantities of Jordanian phosphate exported to the Korean market is

expected to increase to more than 150,000 tonnes during the coming few years.

JPMC contracted on August 18 with two Korean companies to supply them with raw Jordanian phosphate.

The spokesman added that the present year has witnessed a great increase in the volume of phosphate exported to new markets in Asia and Europe.

Jordan's exports of raw phosphate for the first ten months of this year have reached 2.9 million tonnes and they are expected to reach 3.6 million tonnes by the end of this year.

CSO: 4400/74

DECREASE NOTED IN NUMBER OF WORKERS ABROAD

Amman JORDAN TIMES in English 30 Oct 83 p 3

[Text]

AMMAN (J.T.) — A report issued by the Labour Ministry about its activities in 1982 reveals a considerable drop in the number of Jordanian workers seeking employment abroad.

The report attributes the main reasons for this to the world economic recession and its affect on in particular countries in the Gulf region, and also due to the wide application of the Jordanian social security law which offers guarantees and privileges to those employed in this country.

At the same time, the report reveals a considerable drop in the number of foreign workers employed in Jordan.

The report said that in 1982 a total of 61,280 work permits were issued for non-Jordanian workers as against 132,002 in 1981.

According to the report, work permits issued for women workers registered a rise in 1982 when 4,780 permits were issued in comparison to the 1,934 in the previous year.

The report, which outlines the functions and activities of the ministry and its affiliated departments in labour-related issues, said that its employment offices in the country secured jobs for 2,020 unemployed Jordanian workers in 1982 compared with 884 in 1981.

The report also contains detailed information and data on the work and activities of Jordanian labour advisers at embassies in Kuwait, Qatar, Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates, which largely entails the gathering of information about Jordanian workers employed in these countries.

Also in the report, are details about complaints by workers submitted to the ministry which numbered 1,332 last year and the number of occupational injuries which amounted to 5,164.

CSO: 4400/75

BRIEFS

WHEAT SUPPORT POLICY--AMMAN (Petra)--Minister of Supply Ibrahim Ayyoub expressed the government's concern Monday to support Jordanian farmers and encourage the growing of wheat in the country. The government undertakes annually to buy local wheat from farmers at the satisfactory price of about JD 100-120 per tonne which exceeds that of the world market. In his reply to a question by the Jordanian News Agency, Petra, on the reasons for re-introducing bread made from local-wheat in the market and the nutritional aspect of such a decision, Mr. Ayyoub said the ministry's policy had resulted in the increases in the amount of local wheat bought from farmers which now stood at 34,000 tonnes for the current 1983 season. From a nutritional angle, Jordanian wheat is among the best in the world, Mr. Ayyoub pointed out. The ministry has decided to produce a new high quality local-wheat loaf for wide-scale consumption by the public in accordance with the requirements of hygiene and with a high nutritional requirements, Mr. Ayyoub, said. The Ministry of Supply's electric bakery has started introducing bread made from local-wheat into the market as of Oct. 5. [Text] [Amman JORDAN TIMES in English 25 Oct 83 p 3]

PUBLIC HEALTH IMPROVEMENTS RECOMMENDED--AMMAN (J.T.)--Minister of Interior Ahmad Obeidat, chairman of the Higher Public Safety Committee, has instructed provincial governors to implement recommendations adopted by the committee concerning drinking water, wastewater treatment, the destroying of stray dogs, the extermination of rats and flies, and ways of efficiently and effectively disposing of refuse. The committee, which issued its report recently, said that laboratory tests had proved that most of the country's drinking water is polluted due mainly to the worn out network of water pipes, especially in Aqaba, Ramtha, Madaba, Irbid and Salt. The report recommended that chlorine should be added in sufficient and suitable quantities to sterilise the water and that water purifying equipment should be made to function properly. Furthermore, the committee called for more serious efforts toward eliminating stray and rabid dogs. The occasional reports of rabies cases is an indication that the dogs with the disease are still at large, the report said. It called on provincial governors to take measures for the inoculation of domestic dogs and cats and to launch a campaign against stray dogs. The report also referred to the danger of house flies in the Jordan Valley. More effective measures should be taken to eliminate the flies infesting most of the Jordan Valley, the report recommended. This, it said, can be done through intensive campaigns of spraying insecticides in cooperation with the Ministry

of Agriculture and the Jordan Valley Farmers Association. [Text] [Amman JORDAN TIMES in English 26 Oct 83 p 3]

MINING COMPANY INVESTMENTS--AMMAN (Petra)--The Arab Mining Company (Armico) board of directors Wednesday decided to buy a 20 per cent share in North Yemen's mining projects. Meeting under the chairmanship of Mr. Hussein Al Jassem, the board also decided in principle to take a part share in the Mauritanian steel industry. A board spokesman said that Armico will examine the possibility of participating in other mining projects to be carried out in other Arab states. [Text] [Amman JORDAN TIMES in English 27-28 Oct 83 p 3]

KING TALAL DAM EXPANSION--AMMAN (J.T.)--The Kuwait Fund for Economic and Social Development has granted Jordan a JD 10 million loan to help finance a project for raising the wall of the King Talal dam. The project is designed to enable the dam to hold back more water for irrigation purposes, according to Al Ra'i newspaper. [Text] [Amman JORDAN TIMES in English 30 Oct 83 p 3]

CSO: 4400/75

DECENTRALIZED STATE STRUCTURE DISCUSSED

Beirut AL-SAFIR in Arabic 15 Oct 83 p 11

[Article by Sirhan Sirhan: "The Desired State Structure"]

[Text] The following article by Lawyer Sirhan Sirhan, a former member of the Supreme Tariff Council and a member of the Supreme Shi'ite Council's board of directors, is intended to serve as the start of the national dialogue.

On the occasion of the start of the dialogue and debate among those who will be discussing and debating the creation of a more nearly perfect framework for a new Lebanon based on firm foundations, we, the sons of the people, turn to them and ask them to debate and discuss with the people before doing so among themselves. The meeting is historic and deals with a fateful matter: Will there be a Lebanon or not? Moreover, the dialogue must achieve the ambitions of all segments of the people.

We, the sons of the people, are fully entitled to say to those taking part in the dialogue: Talk to us. Throw the issues of Lebanon, past, present and future, into the hands of the people. Listen to their opinions, even if you do not adopt them. Perhaps it is no exaggeration for us to say: Enlighten yourselves with the light which the people throw in all simplicity on the problems of Lebanon, for Lebanon's problems are the people's problems, though they might not be problems for some of you.

We say to those involved in the dialogue: Leave behind your presumption, arrogance, and monopoly of power. And if you set down the texts of decision-making power in an hour, a day, or a week, or do not think that you are speaking wisdom or giving a sermon through a revelation which has descended on you from heaven. This is a characteristic of the prophets alone, though they did not ask for it.

Know well that every decision or measure whose impetus and content are not inspired by the desires of the people and which do not include the people's ambitions are empty decisions with a flashing exterior.

But how can one reach the councils of the people? How can the opinion of the people be asked concerning a problem under discussion?

This is the kind of question asked by someone who imagines that the people are miserable, that they are sunk in their daily, private affairs and think only about making a living, raising a family, etc. This is a big mistake. It is the error made by those who decide to reach the people, and then fit them with ready-made clothing whose color, type, form and measurements they are not allowed to choose.

It is no exaggeration for us to say that this is the opinion of those who believe that the people are incapable of composing, especially since the vast majority of them are ignorant of science, politics, sociology, etc. We say again that decisionmaking is more than composition and preamble-writing. These things are just the outward expression. As for the body of the decisions, and their flesh, blood, and heart throbbing with life, they are composed of the goals, ambitions, experiences and traditions of the people.

It is the goal of every people to achieve liberation and independence, which are the important sources of its glory and dignity. No people is willing to stay poor and humiliated for poverty is the source of humiliation.

No people fight out of love for combat and killing unless it is in an unconscious state and subject to spiritual and material influences whose deceptive truth and verity it believes in.

No people is satisfied to be dominated by ignorance unless its leaders deceive it with substitutes which they have glorified into the unknown.

In order to establish contact between some of those taking part in the dialogue and the people, we turn to the former with the following:

The people of Lebanon, with the unanimous agreement of their distinguished sons, express their gratitude and respect to all who helped end their nightmare of war, with noble and exalted guidance from His Highness, the king of Saudi Arabia, and hope their efforts will bear fruit.

After greeting the participants in the dialogue and congratulating them on the high task they have been entrusted with, they wish the following from each participant and from them all collectively:

They should ignore, indeed, they should forget the hatreds of the past years, especially those left behind by the war of recent years, which reaped a harvest of our old and young men, as well as of our women and children. It buried our hopes alive, eating both the green and the dry treasures of our country. It made us bear the ugliest, most horrible and basest of accusations. They must search for the hidden causes behind the hatred and the wars, so that they can prescribe the medicine.

They must ignore those who have appointed them, with the exception of Lebanon, their real client. They must also ignore the background and goals which led to their appointment, as well as their aspirations, with

the exception of those things they must stick to in building a Lebanon free of those who would buy and sell its dignity and whose foundations are democracy, freedom, justice, equality, and the provisions of equal opportunity to all citizens.

There must be a judiciary which can investigate independently and whose personnel can work freely. We must tell it as it is: The independence of the judiciary in word and deed is an indication of true democracy and civilized behavior. Judges must be able to decide as they see fit without fear of the future.

Political sectarianism has sown death and destruction, created hatred, and permitted what God has forbidden, as well as forbidden what God has permitted. The result has been eternal shame and ignominy for Lebanon as a people and as a set of political and spiritual institutions.

There must be an army which tries to compose itself and grow stronger on national foundations which put sectarian policy on the shelf.

The dialogue participants ought to consider the idea that the state is not the people in power; it is land whose borders we preserve, protected waters, a mighty sky, a trust in the possession of the country's prominent men, and a sovereign people. The people are immortal on the land and rooted in its soil. It is they who raise the rulers to the seat of power.

There must be loyalty to the state--as symbolized by its rulers--which cannot be shaken in the spirits of the people, unless the rulers grow distant from their people, underrate the lesson their aspirations have to teach, and hold them in contempt by confusing their thoughts and aspirations with those of the people. If this happens, democracy is trapped and the people become a mob.

Lebanon must be liberated, and its liberation must be unconditional. Israel must be considered in no uncertain terms the invading, aggressive, usurping state with expansionist desires. The state's list must be headed by the priorities of liberation. Then too, there must be no sovereignty on Lebanese soil except for the Lebanese, and no armed military force except that of the purely Lebanese army, which will be the army of all Lebanese. Article 52 of the constitution guarantees the liberation of Lebanon and was inserted for the explicit purpose of repelling invasion.

The problems of democratic, free, civilized Lebanon cannot be solved by force by means of the armed militias. Rather, they must be solved by popular plebiscite. Let us consider the truly civilized countries before proclaiming Lebanon's civilization in vain.

We have no rightful claim on the state as long as our loyalty to it is a joke. We must respect the three pillars of its framework: popular sovereignty, democratic rule, and an army above suspicion. All else are but secondary matters, side effects and final results protected by these invariable principles.

Everyone must be absolutely forbidden, no matter what agency may have issued him permission, to bear military arms on Lebanese territory, the only exceptions being the army, the security forces and the municipal police. Every permit allowing civilians to bear arms is a violation of the constitution dealt with by the laws.

There must be no militias, even unarmed ones, except for the reserve forces of the security forces and the army.

All aural communications media must be the property of the state.

Political sectarianism is an extension of ethnic sectarianism. Both are inseparable from that sectarianism which is expressed in Lebanese terms as factionalism. It will increase in importance, and its high values' theoretical foundations will be preserved, if it automatically separates itself or is separated from the arena of politics and administration. One need only refer, if briefly, to the crimes that have been committed in its name and with false authorization from it--we are referring to massacres, double dealing in its name, and the use of its slogans in committing acts of slaughter, murder, and plunder, as well as the destruction of institutions. (The most prominent proof of that is offered by random killing, kidnapping, and using houses of worship for torture or for drawing up massacre plans.) Only some of all this need be mentioned to show how its noble values have been mocked and degraded to such a degree that conscience and faith in God and in the dignity of man are scorned.

Disasters have struck Lebanon in the name of sectarianism. The worst of them was the formation of the armed militias. The logic of the state--of any state--cannot accept sympathy for and silence concerning the militias.

No democracy can exist if there is political sectarianism. Lebanon has been trying to enter the door of democracy under the inspiration of the modern ideas which have spread all through creation, but political sectarianism has been repulsing it. Lebanon tried to remain sovereign in its own territory, but sectarianism opened both leaves of the door to foreigners after having broken the country's internal bonds. And so the country remained bound, while singing about its democracy like a child who memorizes and sings a song, but does not understand it.

There can be no freedom under sectarian regimes. If they thrive, this favors those who buy and sell their country's treasures.

There can be no true friendship among the segments of the people through sectarian contact. Friendship among the leading men of the sects is another matter.

Sectarianism starts out by basing itself on the preservation of the heritage and its richness. It ends as the policy of individuals or groups who combine together in a partnership and trample the heritage underfoot.

The groups' followers forget that they began as intellectual, legal, spiritual, and scientific schools, and that their business is culture, not buying and selling. The citizens must always remember that if citizenship and sectarianism collide or come into conflict, there can be no stability unless national considerations triumph, for sectarianism is separation and citizenship is unity. As for the country's treasures and profits under the sectarian system, they amount to nothing more than shares of stock in a company. A black day will have to come which will cause the company to go broke or dissolve, for reasons we all know.

It cannot be denied that every sect and school has guiding values which are preserved until they are offered on the political stock market. At this point, one begins to move away from them, and the gap between the theoretical and the practical widens. People start to turn away from religious values because of the contradiction they perceive between word and action.

The economic system in Lebanon suffers from chaos and bankruptcy. These have caused an increase in monopolization and a deepening of the social divisions in the ranks of the people. The free economic system has been subjected to some reforms, due to the modern theories of the free economy. A look at the economic system in America and Europe shows us that economic direction is dominant in those two places. Otherwise, how could the state protect its economy?

Political decentralization leads to partition. Administrative decentralization leads to a gathering of ranks within the country, to coherent unity, and to the realization of justice among regions, public and private institutions, and so among individuals. It is essential to building the nation, tightening the bonds of unity and concord among the citizenry, transcending tormenting hatred, dressing the wounds, and disposing of the superstitions which have made us think firmly established facts were falsehoods, and so sanction torture, murder and destruction.

A Proper Administrative Structure for Lebanon

So that Lebanon can leave the rubble behind, recuperate, recover its strength, become worthy of the word "civilized," and radiate truth, its administrative structure must be reexamined in light of modern constitutional concepts. The constitutional and the administrative aspects must be considered inseparably linked, with the former being the source of the latter.

In Constitutional Terms:

Lebanon is an independent state existing in an Arab context geographically and historically. It is free and united and cannot be partitioned in terms of land, people or institutions, within its international borders, as sanctioned by the charters of the United Nations and the Arab League. These borders are set forth in detail in the first article of the constitution, and they enclose an area of 10,452 square kilometers.

The history of Lebanon, past, present, and future, is an inseparable part of the history of the Arab region. This is the logic of history.

Unity among the Lebanese is a comprehensive, national pact, outside the context of sectarianism.

Lebanon is a democratic, parliamentary republic based on proportional representation. It believes in freedom of belief and protects religious ceremonies within the framework of the public system, with no interference in others' beliefs under penalty of legal prosecution.

Education in Lebanon is to be unified. Unification of the curricula is to be organized according to law. As for the standardization of textbooks for all institutes, it is an ideal step in the direction of unifying education within the context of proper Lebanese citizenship.

Arabic is the official language of Lebanon.

The elimination of political sectarianism in Lebanon is a step on the road of secularism and unity of purpose. We must work to deeply implant the concepts of secularism in textbooks, as well as seeing that the pens of writers, poets, educators, sociologists and politicians express them.

The separation of powers in Lebanon is mandated by the constitution. The judiciary has a sacred mission which is linked to heaven's justice as it is expressed on earth. Let the consecration be both practical and theoretical, so that the people will be certain, when they go to court and the judge rules, that he will be protected against any political influence when he issues his ruling. The executive activities of the judges must proceed in accordance with the texts of the law.

In order for the judges to be independent, their material level must be raised and their morale improved.

The Supreme Judicial Council should take over the judges' appointments, transfers, disciplinary actions and rewards, in accordance with a system drafted for this purpose and issued in the form of a law. The minister concerned will execute the decisions of the council. His work will be purely executive.

In Lebanon, representation is a national duty and an obligation without monetary compensation. The compensation which a deputy receives is essentially for transport and transportation. He has no right to a pension or to permanent compensation after his term of office is over.

Impeachment cases against a representative are to be sent to the Supreme Court (the Supreme Council, chaired by the top justices), and its decisions are final.

In order to implement this, Article 30 of the Lebanese constitution of 26/5/1926 is to be repealed.

The three powers in Lebanon are independent, in accordance with the rulings of the constitution and the law.

1. Legislative authority is in the hands of the Chamber of Deputies.
2. Executive authority is in the hands of the president of the republic, the prime minister, and the cabinet ministers, in cooperation with the administrative apparatus, which is headed by the general directors, who, in turn, are linked to the heads of the departments and bureaus.

The president of the republic is the supreme administrative officers. He heads the executive authority, which has twofold competency. His authority is limited in accordance with the constitution and the laws:

--He publishes the laws and monitors the basics of their execution.

--In cooperation with the prime minister and the foreign minister, he is responsible for negotiating signing international treaties in order to liberate the country from foreign armies and repel foreign aggression.

The treaties are to be submitted to the Chamber of Deputies during its first session. The president of the republic may summon the chamber for this purpose.

The ceremonies by which the upper grade is appointed will take place according to the rulings of the laws and established procedure, as will the promotion and disciplining of the individual members thereof.

If the president of the republic is absent, then the cabinet, under the direction of the prime minister, will assume the executive authority of the president of the republic.

If the president's chair is left empty due to death or for any other reason, the Chamber of Deputies will meet immediately, on the basis of an invitation by its speaker, or a request by 10 members, or a request by the cabinet, to elect a successor. If the Chamber of Deputies has been dissolved, the cabinet, meeting under the chairmanship of the prime minister, will summon the electoral bodies without delay. The chamber will meet in accordance with the law, or on the basis of an invitation by the prime minister in his capacity as head of the cabinet, and on the basis of the decision of this latter.

In addition to the powers stipulated above, the following applies to the prime minister:

He is the immediate chief of the administration. He exercises his authority through the cabinet ministers, each within the limits of his specialization and within his ministry.

He assures the execution of the laws, after they have been signed, in accordance with executive procedures. He signs them after the cabinet, under his chairmanship, issues them.

In cooperation with the cabinet ministers, he is responsible for the ceremonies by which the middle and lower grades are appointed, following the completion of the associated formal measures as stipulated in the law on employees, and after the agreement of the civil service commission has been obtained.

The ministers: Each minister is the immediate chief of the employees in his ministry. He exercises his authority through consultation with the general director and via the same.

The finance minister must sign each transaction which results in the payment of a sum of money, in accordance with legal and organizational rules.

The foreign minister places his signature on treaties next to the signatures of the president of the republic and the prime minister.

Each minister has the right to take individual, organizational decisions within his ministry in light of the laws and organizational procedures.

Military authority: The balanced, united national army is the military authority responsible for protecting the borders. It is the final actor in the area of reinforcing the foundations of security, so that democratic freedoms can be practiced and popular plebiscites held on internal problems under the protection of security.

There is no military authority other than the army's. The army will not assist one faction against another.

It is forbidden for any agency to grant permits to civilians for bearing or acquiring military weaponry, no matter what the pretext might be.

All militias are to be dissolved. The army will take possession of their weapons and ammunition without any compensation. Hiding weapons will be considered tantamount to armed rebellion.

Audio media in Lebanon are reserved to the state administration.

A Suitable Administrative System

Administratively: The following is a summarized program for administrative organization in Lebanon. Its major outlines are presented.

If each country has its own laws based on its economic and social situation, customs, traditions, and level of civilization as measures in terms of its intellectual and spiritual maturity, then I think that Lebanon ought to have an administrative system which follows three lines:

1. The centralized administration located in the capital. By this, I mean an authority with both a political and an administrative role, in addition to the powers stipulated by the constitution and the established laws, from the president of the republic on down the line to the last central official.

The security authorities carry out the executive decisions as necessary.

2. The non-inclusive administration, also known as non-ministerial administration. One can also call it a system whereby the ministers' burdens are lightened. This administration will be a branch of the central authority. However, it will enjoy broader powers than is the case under the present system. It will be called the local administrations.

3. Decentralization. It will branch out in several lines, but will not include the army, the security forces or the judiciary.

a--Provincial decentralization outside the capital: provincial committees, public councils, and committees.

b--Departmental decentralization. It will include the independent departments in Beirut and the provinces.

c--Decentralization of the public institutions in Beirut and the provinces.

d--Municipal decentralization: The municipalities in all of Lebanon's territory will follow the system of decentralization.

e--The decentralization of organizations bound together by common interests, the most important ones being cooperatives and unions. This will apply to all Lebanon's territory. In order for these decentralized entities to be worthy of the title, or of their real name, both in word and deed, they must be granted an autonomous administration, so that they will be able to administer their affairs by themselves. The following are also necessary:

a--These matters must concern only them.

b--They must administer their affairs through their own bureaucracy, not the one appointed by the central authority.

c--They should not submit to precise monitoring by the central agencies and their agents. Rather, they should receive instructive oversight and direction.

d--They must be administratively independent of the central authority, while at the same time being an inseparable part of the comprehensive administrative foundation of all the sectors. Their administrative independence will conform to the laws, with the latter being drawn up in accordance with the actual situation and the requirements of Lebanon's welfare.

e--Decentralization of departments, municipalities and public institutions will exist in the capital, the provinces and the administrative districts.

The idea of decentralization is essentially one of local authorities and provincial groupings which administer their affairs by themselves and organize their own business, while remaining, by the nature of the case, integrated within the state, which can eliminate them as it created them.

The decentralized administrations, with their various types, names and activities, may not issue laws independently of the central authority. The laws are part of the competency of the legislative branch of the central authority.

The tasks of the decentralized administrations will be limited to carrying out the laws and regulations via internal organizational decrees which are consistent with the constitution and the laws.

The local centralized authorities will be distinguished from the local decentralized authorities by the fact that the former will be appointed by the central authorities, while the latter will be elected by the districts they administer.

The Merits of Decentralization

1. It fits the idea of democracy, which grows, advancing along with the people's level of democratic civilization.
2. It is consistent with good administration and running the departments. Procedures are not drawn out. Local people are the best informed about the needs of their areas.
3. It forms one of the ways in which administrative specializations can be distributed among the local, departmental and municipal bodies, as well as the public institutions.
4. It is a natural phenomenon in the history of forming human communities and having them administer their facilities by themselves.
5. It creates a balance between the interests and the desires of individuals, while reconciling these interests and desires with the common good.
6. It is essentially under the control of the central authority. If it fails, one can repeal it (in accordance with laws).
7. It is suitable for confronting crises, since it relieves the capital of burdens. If the capital's balance is disturbed, the local bodies do not have to follow suit.
8. It assures greater justice in applying public taxes. In addition, it assures the just distribution of budget allocations.

Note: If decentralization turns into a public utility, then it will have ceased to be a decentralized administration.

In order to reinforce the concepts of decentralization and apply it in a manner consistent with the situation in Lebanon, it will be necessary to review the laws for the establishment and the organizational regulations for:

--The Lebanese University in Beirut and the provinces, as well as all public institutions.

--The independent departments in Beirut and the provinces, including the Beirut Water Department.

--All municipalities, including the Municipality of Beirut.

--The Social Security Fund, as well as all other funds and independent offices. They will be reorganized so as to reinforce their power and independence in agreement with the true concept of administrative decentralization and remove them from the yoke of politicians, who will not have the power to appoint their staff members.

--Thereafter, one will have to review the administrative organization law in Lebanon in light of the exigencies mentioned above, which suggest that authority be distributed between the central administration and the local authorities (provinces, administrative districts, and all other state offices outside the capital).

In this fashion, administration in Lebanon would proceed along these three lines:

--the line of the central administration in Beirut, or the executive authority.

--the line of ministerial decentralization, in Beirut and the provinces.

--the line of administrative decentralization in the full sense of the term, with the exception of the symbols of executive authority in the capital.

If some fear that administrative decentralization might lead to secession, then that specter ought to be removed by the following:

1. Oversight.

2. Tutelage.

Before going on to detail just how the decentralized authorities will be monitored, we will say a thing or two about the local authorities and the advisory agencies belonging to the central authorities.

First: If the state wants to make the local authorities into decentralized administrations, then it will have created a second element of decentralization connected with the specific situation of the authorities in charge of the local districts. This is not the situation now in Lebanon, but in France:

These authorities are local authorities which represent the locale instead of representing the central authority in the locale. (That is, it represents the region, instead of representing the central authority in the region.) In this way, the local grouping seems to be unconnected with the outside in terms of the management of its business. (We mean the area outside the region. Indeed, it administers its own affairs through its own members.)

In order for things to go smoothly, the authority acquainted with the burdens of administering the decentralized apparatus must be connected with it in a firm and personal way.

1. Choosing the place: In the future, this bond will arise first of all by affiliation with the local environment. In order for the authority to be responsible for a locality, it must be chosen in this locality from among the inhabitants of the region (the local concentration). It is natural that this local affiliation should be mixed with the character consistent with the group of specific conditions. That is, it should reflect the fact that the employees working in a decentralized, local office are special people generally integrated into local life, rather than professional bureaucrats.

Is this local affiliation enough to form the identity of decentralization? If need be, it can be absorbed or considered a spontaneous conviction constituting an element of decentralization:

1. Selection does not take place merely "in" the locality. Rather, it takes place through the agency of the locality.
2. The advisory agencies: The central authority contains many of these, in the form of councils, committees and administrative councils.

The Economic Council provides the government with advice and views on the subject of economics.

The Supreme Judicial Council works with the president of the republic to apply the law organically, name some of the district judges, and both discipline and guide the judges.

The Advisory Council, in addition to being a court, is the most important council in the central administration.

There are many other central administration councils of various kinds, both temporary and permanent. They are connected to the ministries and give both compulsory and optional advice. There are also joint councils shared by several ministries. The councils' members are both administrators and technocrats. The councils sometimes enjoy some judicial and disciplinary authority.

The Planning Council contains ministers and persons who suggest modernization and economic preparation projects to the government.

The National Council, which is the supreme advisory council, works with the ministers, who avail themselves, of its enlightening opinions.

AFGHANISTAN

STRATEGIC FORTRESS REPORTEDLY ATTACKED BY MUJAHEDIN

Tehran KAYHAN INTERNATIONAL in English 3 Nov 83 p 1

[Text] Islamabad, Nov. 2 (Dispatches)--Afghan Muslim forces renewed their attacks on Kabul, the capital of Afghanistan, this week for the first time in over a month, western diplomats said here Tuesday.

Their attacks were aimed at military headquarters, the Russian Embassy and the strategic Balahissar fortress but did not inflict heavy damage, they said.

Rocket attacks from October 22 to 28 and strong pressure on Russian-Afghan forward military posts in western Kabul forced the Russian army to temporarily abandon two posts near the Darulaman palace, the diplomats added.

The Russian army had to use rockets for the first time to disengage itself from fighting in the western Kote Sangu quarter, destroying a house, a post office and a bus, they said.

Meanwhile, skirmishes between Mujahideen and Russian Afghan government forces continued this week in almost every major Afghan city.

The road linking Herat, western Afghanistan, to its airport, was virtually under Mujahideen control, forcing government officials to travel in tanks.

Russian planes bombed rebel-controlled villages near Kandahar, southern Afghanistan, while Mujahideen destroyed two bridges and damaged five others last week, the western diplomats said.

The diplomats continued to say the admission examinations for Kabul University were held last Friday, about a month earlier than usual, possibly because the army wanted to draft quickly any men failing the test.

Reports were also received about continued fighting in Kandahar in southern Afghanistan and around Ghazni, southeast of Kabul, they said.

The Muslim fighters have destroyed two bridges and damaged five more near Kandahar, they quoted a high-ranking government official as saying.

Russian troops in Kabul's bazaar were attacked on October 18 and a local agricultural official was killed near Chazni bazaar when his jeep hit a mine on October 21, they said.

In other developments, travellers reaching Kabul said a dozen Russian troopers died Oct. 27 during a Mujahideen ambush in the Salang Pass, on the main highway linking Kabul to the Soviet Union. They said at least five tanks were destroyed and one truck gutted during the operation.

CSO: 4600/115

MUJAHIDIN CLAIM REPULSING ATTACK, KILLING TROOPS

Tehran KAYHAN INTERNATIONAL in English 10 Nov 83 pp 1, 2

[Text] LONDON, Nov. 9 (AAP)--An attack on the Mujahideen's positions in Farah Province, bordering Iran, was repulsed. During two big clashes, at least 32 Russian-Karmal troops were killed, one tank and five armored vehicles were either damaged or destroyed whereas nine Mujahids were martyred.

Agency Afghan Press sources from Farah report that a group of the Mujahideen and the Russian-Karmal mobile unit came across each other in Farah Rud area at a place Karvangah on September 29. The Mujahideen destroyed a tank of the mobile unit with rocket fire. The clash continued for five hours in which more than 12 Russian-Karmal troops were killed, while nine Mujahids were martyred defending themselves bravely.

Earlier, on September 25, the Russian-Karmal armored troops attacked the Mujahideen safe places in Gulistan sub-division. The Mujahideen damaged five armored vehicles of the attacking army. The Russian-Karmal troops were compelled to go back by the evening due to the invincible defense fortifications of the Mujahideen. The Mujahideen continued their attacks on the retreating enemy and captured 61 rifles of different kind from the battlefield. At least 20 Russian-Karmal troops were killed while several Mujahids were injured seriously.

Eight Trucks Abandoned

The Russian-Karmal troops while supplying the ration to the military camps and posts located along Kabul-Qandahar Highway in the Province of Ghazni abandoned eight trucks loaded with food stuff. According to the AAP sources from Ghazni, the Mujahideen closed the highway 10 kilometers from Qarah Bagh at Sirki Shela, on October 1. The security unit of the ration convoy which included the tanks and armored vehicles, resisted the onslaught of the Mujahideen for sometimes while taking positions along the road. But soon they took their wounded companions and their dead bodies to the armored vehicles and made their way to Ghazni leaving all the eight trucks there.

The captured trucks were loaded with rice, flour, sugar, cooking oil and other food stuff. At least 10 Russian-Karmal troops were killed in the clash and the Mujahideen seized 12 Kalashnikov rifles from the field.

Fresh Russian Troops in Afghan Provinces

Meanwhile, informed sources from Kabul disclosed that more than 30,000 fresh Russian troops have arrived in Afghanistan in the last week. These Russian troops are deployed in Kunduz, Herat, Parwan and Kabul Provinces in addition to the troops already stationed there. It is reported the occupant Russian forces have exceeded 180,000 including the fresh arrival. The fresh forces entered Afghanistan from Sher Khan Bunder, River Port on Amu, Hairtan Bridge and from Kushka-Tor Ghundi Road. According to the observer these fresh troops will not only increase the number of the Russian troops

CSO: 4600/148

AFGHAN RESISTANCE REPORTEDLY KILL 300 TROOPS IN ROCKET ATTACK

Tehran TEHRAN TIMES in English 10 Nov 83 p 1

[Text]

NEW DELHI, India (AP) - Anti-Communist Mujahideen killed more than 310 Afghan government troops last week in a daytime rocket attack in a downtown district of Kandahar, Afghanistan's second largest city, an Afghan exile leader reported Tuesday.

The rebels lured the Afghan soldiers and officers into a trap and then fired powerful rockets at them, destroying more than two dozen tanks and armored personnel carriers, said S.M. Maiwand, quoting an Afghan, government official.

There was no immediate independent confirmation of the report.

The official, who asked not to be identified, arrived in New Delhi Tuesday after attending the funeral in Kandahar of his cousin, an army officer, killed in the Nov. 1 attack, Maiwand said.

The source was quoted as saying that the guerillas opened fire in the air from Kandahar's Hirat Bazar, prompting the Afghan troops to leave the city military headquarters and come to the residential area, which has buildings on both sides of the main street.

"The troops thus were trapped, and the rocket attacks began with a devastating effect under the very eyes of the local population," which had sheltered the rebels, Maiwand said.

At least 60 army officers were among those slain, it was reported.

Afghan Air Force planes retaliated by bombarding several houses in the area, reducing some to rubble, Maiwand said, adding that the casualties were not high because most local residents fled from their homes before the raids.

Further details were not immediately available.

An earlier report said the Soviet Union has poured several thousand more troops into Afghanistan to beef up two garrisons near the border with Pakistan, a Western diplomatic source said.

The garrisons at Jalalabad, about 125 kilometers (75 miles) east of Kabul, and nearby Khost each were reinforced by 3,500 troops "newly arrived from the Soviet Union" within the past two weeks, the diplomat quoted a "reliable source" in Afghanistan as saying.

The two outposts sit along major routes used by Afghan guerillas to travel back and forth from sanctuaries in Pakistan.

It was not clear if the new troops represented an increase in the estimated 105,000-man Soviet force currently in Afghanistan or if they were replacements for soldiers to be rotated home.

Meanwhile, the diplomat said an Afghan source had confirmed the death Oct. 17 of a Soviet General visiting Afghanistan. The General, whose identity was not known, was on an inspection tour near the Western provincial capital of Herat when his helicopter was shot down by Afghan guerillas, killing all aboard, the source said.

Ten days later, on Oct. 27, Afghan Defense Minister Abdul Qader flew from Kabul to Herat for an on-the-spot appraisal of the situation, but came under intense fire from anti-government resistance men and returned to the capital almost immediately, said the diplomat, who asked anonymity.

POET VIEWS FACTORS BEHIND AFGHAN WAR

East Burnham ARABIA THE ISLAMIC WORLD REVIEW in English No 27, Nov 83 p 67

[Text]

○ The importance for the Muslim world of the Afghan struggle has always received prominence in Arabia. Professor Khalilullah Khalili, a Muslim political activist and poet, held many official positions before the Soviet-backed Karmal takeover in Kabul. He has been vice-president of Kabul university, minister of information and culture and Afghan ambassador to many Arab countries. The founder of the weekly *Wahdat*, he has also written extensively on Persian and Urdu poetry. The following are excerpts from an interview:

On politics: Khalili emphasised that the record of the Mujahideen's struggle shows that no solution to the occupation of Afghanistan would be acceptable to them which did not give adequate weight to their views.

Although he did not think that the Pakistan government was likely to reach an agreement with the Soviet Union on the question of Afghan refugees in Pakistan without the consent of the Mujahideen, such a solution would in any case be rejected by the Afghan Muslim fighters.

On Afghan intellectuals: He agreed that the relative lack of influence of Islamic ideology among a significant section of educated Afghans was an important factor in facilitating the pro-Moscow coup d'état of 1978 in Afghanistan. Just as the past links between France and Egypt meant that the former had an important cultural

influence on Egyptian intellectuals, the same is true of Soviet influence on the Afghan intellectuals who were sent to study in the Soviet Union in large numbers.

The long period before 1978, during which this influence was developing, provided part of the explanation for the relative ease with which the coup was implemented. Further, ever since Afghanistan lost its Central Asian provinces to the Soviet Union, geopolitically and hence culturally, the impact of Soviet ideology on Afghanistan has been very strong.

On Islamic literature and poetry in Afghanistan: Khalili disagreed that Allameh Iqbal was the first to discuss Islamic values, particularly rejection of materialism, in poetry, but maintained that this outlook can be traced back to Rumi. Iqbal, however, remains an important poet in creating new form and new content in Urdu poetry and many new ideas in Persian poetry.

There had since been many developments in contemporary Afghan poetry, Khalili said, in that forms of expression were freer and the subject matter was more directly related to the problems of Afghan society. He added that although Afghanistan does not have a tradition of epic literature, as with Homer in Greek and Fardowsi in Persian, nonetheless the struggle of Afghan Muslims has inspired many poets in Afghanistan in the direction of epic poetry.

USSR 'NATIONAL GOVERNMENT' PROPOSAL STUDIED

East Burnham ARABIA THE ISLAMIC WORLD REVIEW in English No 27, Nov 83 p 34

[Text]

Active consultations have been continuing over the Soviet proposal for the formation of a "national government" in Afghanistan. It is believed that Prime Minister Kishmand and the representatives of ex-king Zahir Shah met in Moscow recently to discuss the possibility of forming a new governing alliance.

Earlier, Zahir Shah's son, Ahmad Shah, and his son-in-law, Sardar Abdul Wali Khan, held talks with Moscow representatives in Rome. It was not clear whether Ahmad Shah had also gone to Moscow to participate in the discussion, but sources close to the Mujahideen say that the royal family is represented in the talks.

The arrival of a former Afghan diplomat, Abdul Rehman Pazhwak, in Europe is considered an important development towards the formation of the national government. Pazhwak is said to have the confidence of Zahir Shah, and has been visiting European capitals and the United States, mobilising diplomatic support for the government.

If formed, such a government will have no formal links with the Mujahideen, who have refused any dialogue with the Russians as long as they remain in Afghanistan.

CSO; 4600/150

UN DELEGATE ASKS DIALOGUE ON CARIBBEAN CRISIS

New Delhi PATRIOT in English 10 Nov 83 p 3

[Text] UNITED NATIONS, Nov. 9 (UNI, PTI)--India yesterday called for a dialogue on Central America, underscoring that there would be no escaping the "horrible conflagration" if the situation there worsens.

Indian delegate C P N Singh told the assembly that events of the last few weeks had only served to complicate further the situation and to augment international concern.

Mr Singh recalled the declaration of the Seventh Non-Aligned summit to underscore that the situation in Central America had been aggravated by the "intensification of imperialist interference" in the internal affairs of the states or the region.

The Indian delegate welcomed the initiative of the Contadora Group for finding a political and peaceful solution to the problems in Central America. "The path to peace is dialogue," he said.

Mr Singh said for many months now the world had focussed its attention "apprehensively" on developments in that region. The Security Council had been convened thrice on Nicaragua's complaints.

Like West Asia and Southern Africa, Central America had become a major hotbed of tension and events there posed a serious threat to international peace and security, he said.

Without naming the United States Mr Singh blamed the "propensity" of those outside the region to meddle in the affairs of Central America for exacerbating the already deep socio-economic cleavages in the region.

"This pattern has now reached alarming proportions, creating a situation that is potentially explosive and threatening the ever tenuous balance of power," Mr Singh said.

The strongest attack against the US "intervention" came expectedly from Nicaragua, whose Foreign Minister D'Escoto Brockman described Central America as "one of the areas of greatest tension in the world".

Mr Brockman charged the United States with trying to "provoke" a war between Honduras and Nicaragua and said such a war would inevitably lead to an invasion of US troops in Nicaragua under the pretext that their presence was requested by governments of the region, in the same way they have tried to justify the cowardly and reprehensible invasion of Grenada".

Mr Brockman appealed to the international community to obtain a clear commitment from the United States to halt its "aggressions" against his country by means of a treaty Nicaragua had proposed.

"It would appear that the Reagan Administration is committed to provoking Contadora's collapse as a pre-requisite to carrying out its plans to invade Nicaragua," Mr Brockman said.

Referring to the speech by Nicaraguan Foreign Minister, the Indian delegate shared the anguish of Nicaragua, with which it has ties of friendship and which is a fellow member of the Non-Aligned movement.

Mr Singh recalled the declaration by the Seventh Non-Aligned summit in New Delhi reaffirming the importance of "the right of any state to freely choose its own political, social and economic system."

He also recalled the summit's assertion that the "process of change" in the region "could not be attributed to or explained by an East-West ideological confrontation."

The reference was to the United States' claims that Nicaragua was backing up rebellions in US ally states such as Honduras and El Salvador at the bidding of the Soviet Union and Cuba.

CSO: 4600/1253

PAPER REPORTS GANDHI SPEECHES, WAR DANGERS NOTED

New Delhi PATRIOT in English 10 Nov 83 pp 1, 7

[Text] KURUKSHETRA, Nov 9--Prime Minister Indira Gandhi today warned the nation against the danger of war looming large over the borders and said it seems that they are looking for an excuse to attack us.

Addressing a public meeting on the banks of Sannehit tank here, Mrs. Gandhi said danger signals from across the borders were clear and cautioned the people to remain vigilant and not allow internal differences to vitiate the atmosphere.

The Prime Minister said some neighbours were repeatedly saying that India and Mrs Gandhi were interfering in their internal affairs. This was a white lie, she added.

In fact, some countries were afraid of our ideology and strength "and that is why they tell our neighbours that India would attack them."

Referring to peace efforts being made by India, she said 'a war in any part of the world would engulf all of us. It could well destroy the mankind. Moreover, we are engaged in a different type of struggle--a war for bettering the lot of common man.'

Earlier addressing the delegates to the two-day regional Cong-I conference, she criticised both, the Opposition and the press, the former for mising religion and politics and the latter for projecting only differences. Communal slogans could be dangerous since people belonging to all faiths and creeds live here. In this context, she particularly referred to the western media which along been whipping up propaganda against India.

The Prime Minister accused the Opposition parties of raising caste, language and religious feelings for political gains. It was regrettable since all this was being witnessed at a time when unity and integrity of the country was in danger.

Indirectly referring to the situation in Punjab, she said 'disputes are never solved through confrontation. Every one knows that they (Akalis) are getting support from outside. It was always desirable that disputes are solved through discussions and negotiations', she said.

On the recent happenings, in Jammu and Kashmir, Mrs Gandhi said anti-Indian forces were being supported in that State. This was visible all through the Assembly elections there and later. Those who were or are with India were being persecuted.

Blaming the Opposition parties for not discouraging such anti-Indian forces, Mrs Gandhi said they were instead in a way, encouraging anti-national forces.

'No Mid-Term Poll'

Mrs Gandhi once again ruled out the possibility of holding of mid-term elections in the country. Various newspapers were speculating that party conferences were being held only for the purpose of early poll. Had it been so, why should the delegates be called here and not asked to work in the field', she asked.

She also gave a call for fighting corruption, indiscipline and irresponsibility at least in the Cong-I ruled States.

Defending the Cong-I policies in economic field, Mrs Gandhi said they were the national policies which the nation as a whole must follow.

At the end of her 45-minute speech, Mrs Gandhi promised to bring a legislation, if need be, to fight the menace of adulteration.

About the beef tallow controversy, Mrs Gandhi said the issue was talked about because 'We want the people to be acquainted with truth and not to blame anybody'. Stating that all types of tallow have been banned, she cautioned against politicising religious matters.

Partymen Advised

The Prime Minister asked her partymen not to be afraid of attacks on the party and efforts to suppress it in some places. They should follow the party policies with self-confidence and faith as theirs was the only national party which could defend freedom.

Referring to complaints that party organisations were not functioning at some levels, the Cong-I president said that party workers should take the initiative to activate them.

In case a PCC-I president remained inactive other office-bearers should run the organisation as happened during the freedom struggle, she said.

Earlier, welcoming the Prime Minister, Haryana Chief Minister Bhajan Lal suggested the need of a national water grid for best utilisation of water resources. He also sought clearance for the prestigious Nathpa Jakhri project.

A report from New Delhi adds, Mrs Gandhi returned to the Capital in the evening after the seven-hour visit to Kurukshetra.

LOK DAL RESOLUTION IN INTERNATIONAL SITUATION REPORTED

New Delhi PATRIOT in English 10 Nov 83 p 7

[Text] The Lok Dal national executive is of the view that the meagre response to India's invitation to Heads of State and Government for a meeting during the UN General Assembly's session in September was due to Prime Minister Indira Gandhi's attempt to "project herself as the leader of the NAM".

In a resolution on the international situation, the party's national executive said on Wednesday that despite high-pressure publicity hardly half a dozen of over 100 countries in the NAM and only 18 or 19 of the 150-member UN responded causing discomfiture and fiasco and exposing the "bankruptcy" of the Indian leadership.

The Prime Minister's posture the resolution said, obviously proved repugnant to the vast majority of the countries. It must be realised that "owing to its failures on so many fronts, internal and external, India has not attained a position which will command the respect of the world," the resolution said.

However, in the same resolution, the national executive while reviewing the Tamils' issue in Sri Lanka expressed satisfaction over the resumption of the Parthasarathy mission and expressed the hope that Mrs Gandhi and President Jayewardene will succeed in finding a way out when they met at the CHOGM.

Mr Charan Singh presided over the meeting which concludes on Thursday.

On Grenada, the resolution severely condemned U.S invasion of the island and demanded immediate withdrawal of its troops. The Government of India was urged to ensure that the CHOGM decides on effective steps on the issue. Welcoming the invasion's denunciation by the international community despite the US veto. The resolution said the world [word indistinct] had shown that the US stands morally isolated and condemned in the hearts and minds of the peoples of the world.

However, the national executive deplored the Prime Minister's equivocal stand on "Soviet aggression in Afghanistan" and said "what is worse, she has persistently tried to justify the Soviet intervention by citing other wrongs committed elsewhere."

According to the resolution, the Prime Minister's stand in the UN and particularly as the NAM's chairperson cannot but create the impression that India is behaving like an apologist for what has been recognised by most countries in the UN and NAM as "an act of blatant aggression." India's attitude may even indirectly act as an abetment of the continued occupation of Afghanistan and prove prejudicial to the country's own national interests and independence the resolution said.

In a resolution on the recently concluded third Vishwa Hindi Sammelan and Hindi, the executive said while enthusiasm for Hindi prevails in many countries, the Government of India has due to its wrong policies, failed to take adequate steps to strengthen and enrich Hindi and give it the rightful place as enjoined in the Constitution.

CSO: 4600/1252

ADB LOAN TO INDIA AGREED IN PRINCIPLE

New Delhi PATRIOT in English 10 Nov 83 p 1

[Text] President of the Asian Development Bank, Masao Fujioka said on Wednesday that India has 'the right and need' to borrow from the Bank, report PTI, UNI.

The principle had been agreed to and the question was only of the quantum and timing, 'how much and how soon', he said on arrival in the Capital for a three-day visit at the invitation of Union Finance Minister Pranab Mukherjee.

Mr Fujioka gave the positive indication on prospects for the two billion dollar loan sought by India from the bank. But he declined to give a precise idea of how much assistance the bank would extend as he would have to discuss the question with the Finance Minister.

Asked if the earlier objections of influential members like the US to the loan to India had been withdrawn, Mr Fujioka said that he would give his views in the matter to the Finance Minister.

Asked how he rated India as a client, Mr Fujioka remarked 'It is too big for us.... It is a meticulous and diligent borrower.'

Mr Fujioka clarified that 'at this moment' China's entry into the Bank would not come in the way of a loan to India because its request came first, he added.

Besides meeting Prime Minister Mrs Gandhi, Mr Fujioka will deliver the eighth silver jubilee memorial lecture on Thursday under the auspices of the Industrial Finance Corporation.

Mr Fujioka, who is accompanied by his wife, will visit Agra on Friday.

CSO: 4600/1252

RAJIV CALLS FOR STERNER MEASURES IN PUNJAB

New Delhi PATRIOT in English 10 Nov 83 p 7

[Text] BHOPAL, Nov 9 (UNI)--Congress-I general secretary Rajiv Gandhi today advocated sterner government measures to bring order in Punjab 'at the earliest' as the present situation in the border state could not be allowed to drift.

He also called upon the Akali leadership to come forward and cooperate with the administration to restore normalcy in the State and a climate in which solutions to the various issues could be found. Terrorism, he added should end first.

Mr Gandhi who was addressing a press conference at the end of his three-day visit to Madhya Pradesh late this evening said the majority of the Sikhs in Punjab were anxious to see that peace returned to the State. The Akali leaders also should take note of popular feelings in the State.

To a question on the prospects of a mid-term poll in the country Mr Gandhi reiterated that 'the Prime Minister and the Government knew best'.

He described as a 'figment of imagination' reports that computers were being used to maintain 'files' on party leaders at the Centre and the State. If anything, he said, these were being employed to monitor the implementation of the 20-point programme in the states, including the non-Congress-I ruled States.

Mr Gandhi referred to the beef tallow issue and said it had been kicked up by the Opposition with political intentions 'and to cover up their own guilt in allowing tallow imports during the Janata rule.'

Answering a volley of questions on the propriety or otherwise of appointment of legislators as chairman or managing directors of various corporations, as had been done in Madhya Pradesh, Mr Gandhi said there was nothing wrong in such appointments provided these men delivered the goods.

Mr Gandhi called for revival of the spirit of the freedom movement to forge unity in the country and continue the work for its progress.

Addressing a massive-rally of Congress-I workers at the Lal Parade Ground here on the last leg of his three-day tour of Madhya Pradesh, Mr Gandhi alleged that the Opposition had no programme but to hinder development works and mislead the people. He asked the people to guard against elements trying to take political advantage of communalism, regionalism, casteism and similar evils, that weakened the country.

Earlier a procession of Congress-I workers and led by Mr Rajiv Gandhi arrived at the "Lal Parade Ground", in a show of the party's unity and strength.

Unity, Mr Gandhi said, was necessary as foreign powers were interfering in the internal affairs of other countries to overthrow the legitimate governments and to install their puppet regimes.

CSO: 4600/1252

LOAN AGREEMENT FOR 1983-84 SIGNED WITH BELGIUM

New Delhi PATRIOT in English 9 Nov 83 p 7

[Text] Belgium will provide Rs 6.8 crores (350 million Belgian franc) interest-free loan to India during 1983-84, under an agreement signed in Delhi on Tuesday, reports PTI.

Union Finance Secretary P K Kaul and Belgian State Secretary for Foreign Trade. A Kempinaire signed the agreement on behalf of their respective governments.

Of the loan, a sum of Rs 1.3 crores (68 million Belgian franc) has been provided as debt relief and Rs 5.5 crores (282 million Belgian franc) for projects, purchase of Belgian capital goods including industrial equipment and related services.

Part of the loan will be utilised for making payment to Bell Telephone Manufacturing Company in compliance with its contract with the Indian Telephone Industries which is setting up a cross-bar telephone switching equipment factory in Rae Bareilly in Uttar Pradesh.

Measures to expand and diversify Indo-Belgian trade were generally discussed at the meeting between Commerce Minister Vishwanath Pratap Singh and a visiting Belgian foreign trade delegation led by Prince Albert.

The delegation was told transfer of Belgian technology and mobilisation of Indian skilled personnel offered great potential for expansion and diversification. The Indian Minister welcomed the visit by the delegation with specific offers of technology transfer and said India has liberalised policy for import of technology, especially in areas like electronics, power and energy.

The visiting delegation informed the Minister that telecommunications, electronics, energy, metal works, chemicals, industrial contracting and engineering services have been selected as main themes for workshops being organised in India with participation by Belgian firms.

Prince Albert informed Mr Singh that the delegation will discuss possibilities of cooperation with Indian entrepreneurs, involving transfer of technology.

The workshops to be held in India will help increase awareness on both sides of the immense possibilities for Indo-Belgian cooperation.

The Indian Minister suggested that sub-contracting in computer software, especially in third countries could be a promising area of cooperation. Even though bulk of Indian exports to EEC go to Belgium, the two sides agreed there was scope for expansion of trade in terms of value and for diversification. Mr Singh suggested that textiles, woollen and acrylic knit wear, engineering goods and electronics were areas that could be explored for further expanding trade. Buy back arrangements could also be concluded for leather and marine products. Belgium could also invest in 100 per cent export zones in India on units handling high value and high carat diamonds.

The scope for Indian exports to Belgium and EEC countries and for collaboration between India and Belgium in joint ventures in third world countries was stressed by members of the Belgian trade delegation at discussions with the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry in Delhi on Monday.

The Belgians evinced interest in importing from India mainly chemicals, agricultural products, food and beverages. leather and jute products.

The Indian section was led by Mr Bansil Dhar, chairman, foreign trade sub-committee of FICCI and the Belgian section by Mr M Servotte Deputy Director General, Belgian Foreign Trade Office.

CSO: 4600/1250

BRIEFS

AGREEMENT ON TEMPLE--New Delhi, Nov. 6. China has agreed "in principle" to construct a Shiva temple at Kailash-Manasarovar. This was disclosed by the Janata party leader, Dr. Subramaniam Swamy, who has been trying to persuade the Chinese authorities for the past two years to take the step to foster people-to-people friendship between the two countries. Dr. Swamy told UNI that details such as the help to be extended by India, material and architectural, were yet to be discussed. He said he had first taken up the issue with the Chinese leader, Mr. Ji Peng Fi, in June 1982. Earlier this year, Dr. Swamy had been to Beijing, after visiting Lhasa, when he had further talks with Mr. Ji Peng Fi. The Chairman of the All-China Buddhist Association, Mr. Zhao Pu Chu, was also present. It was then agreed that a temple for Lord Shiva and another for Lord Buddha would be constructed at Kailash.--UNI. [Text] [Madras THE HINDU in English 7 Nov 83 p 9]

INDO-EEC TRADE PROSPECTS--BOMBAY, November 4: There was enormous potential for increasing India's exports to the European Economic Community (EEC) countries. There could be a greater flow of investments into India from these countries too. This was stated by Mr. Manfredo Macioti, head of the EEC delegation for South Asia on his first official visit to Bombay. He met Maharashtra government officials, the governor of the Reserve Bank, and members of chambers of commerce. The visit had been interesting and constructive and it would be followed by further contacts in the future", he told newsmen. Mr. Macioti said that at present India had an adverse balance of trade to the extent of Rs. 1,500 crores with EEC (imports from EEC Rs. 3,500 crores against exports of Rs. 2,000 crores). "We do not want this to continue", he said and pointed out that India's exports to EEC represented hardly one per cent of its total annual imports. According to Mr. Macioti three obstacles in the way of India's exports were, lack of quality control, price, and irregularity of delivery. The EEC was a very competitive market and all these factors had to be given the highest priority on a sustained basis to ensure higher levels of exports. [Text] [Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 5 Nov 83 p 10]

BENGAL INFILTRATORS--CALCUTTA, Nov 2 (UNI)--More than two lakh Bangladeshis had infiltrated into West Bengal during the past several years BJP secretary and a former Union Minister Arif Baig, said here today. Mr Baig told a press conference that infiltration into West Bengal, Bihar, Assam and Tripura continued unabated and a situation would arise when the Central and State Governments would find it difficult to tackle it. He, however, welcomed the Centre's move to erect armed wire fencing along the Indo-Bangladesh border to check unauthorised infiltration and said that the measure would definitely help to contain the problem to some extent. [Text] [New Delhi PATRIOT in English 3 Nov 83 p 4]

MUSAVI DISCUSSES DOMESTIC ISSUES ON SECOND ANNIVERSARY OF INCUMBENCY

Tehran JOMHURI-YE ESLAMI in Persian 30 Oct 83 p 11

[Interview with Prime Minister Musavi; place not specified]

[Text] JOMHURI-YE ESLAMI News Department - Yesterday, the 8th of Aban [29 Oct 1983], marked the second anniversary of Engineer Musavi's incumbency as Prime Minister. Our correspondent interviewed him on this occasion. While discussing the country's current situation compared to that of two years ago, Mr Musavi answered questions concerning the reason for the lack of success in the campaign against high prices and inflation, the reason for the delay in implementing articles 44 and 49 of the constitution, the forthcoming Majles elections, plots by foreign enemies of the revolution, currents of deviation within the country, the government's most important future program, and other matters. The full text of the interview with the Prime Minister appears before our dear readers below:

Comparing the Country's Current Situation with Two Years Ago

Question - October 29 marks the second anniversary of your incumbency as Prime Minister. How do you assess the country's current political, cultural, economic, and military situation with that of two years ago?

Answer - The new government assumed its responsibilities when the country was in the midst of a great crisis. The Majles had ousted a traitor like Bani Sadr for creating many disturbances; the hypocrites were committing new crimes every day; we had sacrificed 72 martyrs led by the prince of the martyrs of the revolution, the oppressed martyr Ayatollah Beheshti; Raja'i and Bahonar had been martyred. The people's security in the streets was being endangered by the hypocrites. The country was suffering from a currency deficit; factories were producing at minimum levels; there was a danger of total economic paralysis. The administrative system, in view of the disturbances that had been caused by Bani Sadr, the liberals, and the leftist and rightist groups, was crumbling. In view of the artificial

contrast between the pious and the specialists which Bani Sadr had introduced into society, in reality management was not in control of any of the production and administrative units. Society had waged a formidable struggle against its impurities and overcome them; in the course of this struggle, it had lost distinguished and reliable leaders such as Beheshti, Raja'i, and Bahonar. They, of course, with their struggle, and ultimately with their martyrdom, preserved the genuine line of the revolution of the Partisans of God.

At that time, we had two divine resources. I am certain that no other country has ever had these two resources in this way. The first is the Imam of the nation's prophetic and judicious leadership based on the Koran and Islam, and the second is the nation's firm presence on the scene. Despite the martyrdom of about thirty of the people's best representatives, we had a very powerful and vigilant Majles. The revolutionary organs had become seasoned in the fight against deviation, and I forgot to mention that the Ba'thist American enemy had come up to the gates of Abadan, Ahvaz, and Dezful, and held the advantage. From the point of view of culture, we had neither proper and centralized propaganda nor an active foreign policy. Everyone knows why, and I don't want to dwell on the reasons for this. Today one may compare the country's position with respect to all these matters with its position at that time. We must note especially that in our country it is not easy to work in the executive branch of the government because of the dispersion of the political forces in society. In this regard, I have seen much suffering endured by all my colleagues in the executive branch. I don't want to give statistics and figures, of course, but I would like to call to the attention of the dear readers that during the past two years, among the political, economic, cultural, and military events that have transpired, and in the wave of thousands of issues that the brothers in the government and in the executive branch have faced, the matters of bread, rice, cigarettes, and such things have also arisen.

Success Measured in Campaign Against High Prices and Inflation

Question - The government has been criticized for not succeeding in the campaign against high prices and inflation. One point of view even has it that since most imports and producing factories are in government hands, the government is the cause of high prices and inflation. What is your answer to such criticisms?

Answer - We may be criticized for many things, and one of them is inflation. I have already referred to inflation; I must make reference to two groups of causes, the natural and the unnatural. The government is doing everything in its power to confront these two fundamental groups, but there is a great deal of resistance

on the other side as well. I heard that one of the brothers said somewhere that everything the government touches goes up in price. I have nothing to say in answer to that brother, except to ask God to give a better reward to leaders in the hereafter. If it had not been dangerous of course, we would have allowed the price of sugar cubes and sugar to float, so that this brother and those who think as he does could see where the price ceiling would have gone in the face of around 600 billion tomans cash in circulation in the private sector; evidently these brothers have forgotten about the price of rice. In any case, I must say that of the tens of thousands of items needed by the people, only a handful are under government control. It would also be a good thing if those gentlemen who reason that these measures are socialist and other such things look at the way the British government, as the cradle of capitalism, dealt with goods in time of war, and if they would study the comprehensive control exercised by all capitalist governments in time of war over production and distribution. This information would surely lead them to a better understanding of a society's requirements in wartime. I say plainly that the government is not trying to take over goods or anything else, except where necessary and obligatory, and in accordance with religious and secular law. Again, as an official who must clearly answer this basic question from a newspaper, I say that in view of wartime conditions and the war budget, every kind of actual arrangement to confront inflation, with the kind of thinking I have mentioned, has been considered. Here the question must be asked, do we want to continue this war of the Truth against the Vain until victory, or not? If we must do this, we must meet the costs of war somehow. The moment we move in the direction of taxation, there is an outcry that we are imposing heavy taxes on the people. For God's sake you must see that the young people are giving themselves; these people do not have the power to give part of their assets for Islam. We speak of controlling prices, they call it government interference and government control over everything; we say that basic staples must be under government control as long as there is a war, and they call it politics, leftist politics, and extremism.

I ask you, is it possible for us to reduce the war budget? Is it possible to stop the construction of a village water supply channel? Can we choose not to distribute electrical power to villagers? Can we put a stop to projects like the Mobarakeh project, the Ahvaz Steel Complex, and others like them? Can one tell the people that they must no longer expect to get electrical power, water, and bread from the government? We need billions of tomans in order to manage the Afghan brothers. Where are we to get this money, and how can we deal with that in view of the amount of money in circulation? How can we stabilize the wages of laborers and professional workers? As an oppressed

organization, the government has always tried to shoulder the burdens of these problems along with the people, and not to make statements in the newspapers, on the radio, and here and there that will give comfort to the enemy. If someone is going to get up and say that we are taking taxes from Imam Hoseyn by selling ten-toman rice for 20 tomans, we must say that whoever says this does not realize that the government is the government of the Imam of the Age (upon him be peace) and Imam Hoseyn (upon him be peace); it is fighting with the heretical usurpers of this world. These brothers do not mention the fact that during a time of war with Yazid and his fellow usurpers, the government has given four times as much rice this year to pious and charitable causes as it did last year. The eyes of such a person are closed to the costs of the war in Dezful, Andimeshk, Marivan, and Behbahan. For this reason, it is useless to explain matters to him; explanation is only worthwhile for those dear ones who, along with their friends, are standing in the ranks with our combatants at all the fronts in some way, whether it be in the marketplace, in the factory, on the farm, or in the trenches. In any case, with regard to this question, I must say that with reliance on religion and our faithful, ever-ready, unsparing people, the government is trying, and I hope that we will be able to curb inflation as much as possible in the future.

Implementation of Articles 44 and 49 of the Constitution

Question - One of the government's responsibilities is to implement the constitution, but so far some articles of the constitution, including articles 44 and 49, have not been implemented. What do you regard as the reason for the delay in implementation of these articles?

Answer - We have presented a bill to the Majles for implementing Article 49. With regard to Article 44, we have taken effective steps, such as the presentation of a bill on the limits of the private sector. God willing, we will be able to present a supplementary bill to the Majles, and the government is actually taking steps to realize Article 44.

The Government's Most Important Future Program

Question - What is the government's most important future program?

Answer - In the future, God willing, the government will put most of its efforts into several specific areas; I will explain what I have in mind concerning those areas here. As in the past, the first of them is the mobilization of all forces for victory in the war. I announced in an interview that the government is prepared to continue energetically making provisions for the war even if there is not a single brick in the country sitting on top

of another. The second of these areas is the commencement of implementation of the five-year plan; in view of what it entails, attention is given to agriculture as the most basic area for expansion. Attention has now begun to be given to this area, and the formation of the Supreme Agricultural Council is an effective step in this direction. Another area of concern is some 20 national projects; with the mobilization of forces, such projects as the Bandar Imam Petrochemical Plant, the Ahvaz Steel Complex, and certain power stations and dams can be brought to fruition within three years.

Another Primary area of concern is the anti-narcotics campaign; God willing, we must uproot this problem in the next few years. Another of basic area of concern is the expeditious expansion of higher education.

Among the government's important recent bills is the Reconstruction Mobilization act; I hope that we will be able to begin work in that area next month, with guidance from the dear Majles and the approval of the respected Guardian Council.

Future Majles Elections and Counterrevolutionary Plots

Question - Towards the end of the current year, elections will be held for the second term of the Majles. Even now, the Islamic revolution's foreign enemies, as well as deviationist movements within the country, are trying to present a distorted picture of these elections. What is your analysis of these matters, and how do you assess the forthcoming Majles elections in general?

Answer - As a public servant, I am certain that the people, as always, will welcome the elections. It is the government's responsibility to create the necessary conditions for holding these elections in the best way possible.

The issue of the liberals is clear; since they are certain that the people will not vote for them, they are providing America with material for propaganda. I assure these people that if they have the courage to file for office, they will have their own votes, and we will announce it to the people; if the people really vote for them, we will respect that vote. At the same time I must give notice that the call for freedom for the elections cannot be used in time of war as a way to weaken the fronts, and I am really surprised by all this effrontery.

The Government's Successes and Shortcomings

Question - On the basis of the noble Tradition of the Prophet "Give an account of yourself before taking others to task," give a complete assessment of your government's successes and shortcomings for our readers.

Answer - The truth is that in this position of responsibility, I have always felt that I was walking a tight rope with a cutting edge sharper than a sword. If I am not deluding myself, I think the government has done everything in its power, and the result is just what you see. The government has many weaknesses; the people compensate for them with their help and their kindness. The government has strong points, and these arise from Islamic injunctions, the power of the Imam of the nation's leadership, and the power of the nation. We are nothing more than a small drop in this great ocean. I hope that the supplications and prayers of the faithful people will lighten the heavy burden of accountability for those in the government on resurrection day.

9310

CSO: 4640/33

IRANIAN PRESENCE IN PHILIPPINES CONSIDERED 'REAL MENACE'

Manila BULLETIN TODAY in English 14 Nov 83 pp 6, 10

[Text]

Alarm bells are ringing across the entire spectrum of the intelligence community of this country. The tensions have been set off by the mushrooming number of Iranian "students" in the Philippines. Despite an almost universal inability to speak or write in English, irregular attendance at classes, and taking examinations by proxy, these petro-dollar rich "students" are passed with flying colors, indicating they have corrupted Philippine academe. Because of their high profile in recent rallies and violent demonstrations their stated purpose of coming to the Philippines is now under question. The increasing Iranian "presence" here is now considered as a real menace to the security of the state.

For this reason, apart from the anomalous discrepancy between Ministry of Education, Culture and Sports (MECS) and the Commission on Immigration and Deportation (CID) reports on the number of Iranian "students" here, there is

need to update the records pertaining to these aliens. Iranians should be required to submit to both agencies their latest photographs for more accurate personal identification. Reports have it that these alien visitors have become so bold they no longer carry their identification documents, giving the Philippine officials any name that come to their mind when accosted by authorities.

It is high time that MECS and CID authorities stop treating these aliens with extra consideration. It is time they are all properly identified and authenticated so that legitimate students may be allowed to pursue their studies while the pseudo-students are kicked out of the country. If the so-called Iranian Moslem Students in the Philippines has the temerity to brand the Philippines, their host country, "land of the prostitutes" and the Marcos regime "dictatorial", as they have allegedly done in articles that have appeared in the Teheran Times and other West Asian publications, they have forfeited the right to stay here.

CSO: 4600/146

PAPER COMMENTS ON BOMB BLAST AT U.S. MARINE HEADQUARTERS IN BEIRUT

Tehran TEHRAN TIMES in English 15 Nov 83 p 2

[Editorial: "Iran Blamed To Divert World Opinion"]

[Text] Tehran, (IRNA)--In a retrospect glimpse at a bomb blast at the headquarters of the US intervention forces in Beirut, the Persian daily Kayhan said in a commentary yesterday that ever since the explosion there Washington has been trying to project Iran as having had a hand in the incident. The commentary said the US policy makers have been doing so principally with a view to distracting world attention from what is really happening in Lebanon, and of justifying the presence in Lebanon of the US intervention forces. Excerpts.

"For the Western media the principal purpose behind publishing the news of the explosion was to place the blame upon Iran and stigmatize the Islamic Republic and Syria as governments engaging in terrorist operations. Western propaganda about the bomb blast were mainly aimed directly at inciting the world audience, and justifying the presence in Lebanon of the intervention forces. [as published] But it would serve us well to recall the sympathetic reports and analytical reviews of the incident against the behavior of global media after the mass killings in Sabra and Chatilla. Did the global media at that time show an equal concern about the mass killing by Americans, and by Phalangists and Zionists in Palestine.

"As the propaganda continued by the Western-inspired media, the US president as well as other US officials repeatedly talked about the need to punish the Islamic Republic.

"The people who struggled against the intervention forces in Lebanon were Lebanese Moslems which is not a hidden secret to the Americans and to Israel. The explosion in Beirut had been planned and engineered by Moslems, which fact the United States and Israel cannot admit. Why? Because if they do, they will have confessed to internal struggle against the intervention forces, whereas they are trying to attribute the incident to foreign elements.

"But much as the Islamic Republic has openly declared its aversion to terrorist acts and however expressly it has affirmed that it did not have a hand in the Beirut explosion, the world media continue, nonetheless, with efforts for lodging fresh accusations against the Islamic Republic.

"Lebanese Moslems, however, will no doubt disprove such accusations by their future responses against the occupying forces in their country. Will not then the imperialists new media be likely to look for new accusations whereby to smear the Islamic Republic? [as published]

CSO: 4600/153

BOOK REVEALS AYUB KHAN ADVISED TO BECOME MONARCH

Karachi DAWN in English 18 Nov 83 p 24

[Article by Yehia Syed]

[Text]

LONDON, Nov 17. While in June 1961, Pir Ali Muhammad Rashdi, the then Pakistan Ambassador to the Philippines, in all seriousness, suggested to Ayub Khan, "to establish monarchy in Pakistan to maintain Pakistan's unity and vitality as a state." Sir Muhammad Zafarullah Khan, Pakistan's Foreign Minister from 1947-54, told the president (Ayub Khan) that "the basic essentials of the successful working of parliamentary system were almost wholly lacking in our country." Hence giving adult franchise would mean "the transfer of political power into the hands of the demagogue and the mob orator."

Mr G.A. Parwez of the 'Parwez Movement,' in June 1960 advised Ayub Khan who was then preparing ground to launch his 1962 Constitution, that, "political parties and religious sects were not only anti-Islamic, but "Shirk". He further told him that "parliamentary system was unsuited to our conditions in Pakistan," and the 1956 Constitution which Ayub Khan abrogated, "was un-Islamic and unworkable and deserved to be scrapped."

A sane, sober and sophisticated legal expert Manzoor Qadir, who was Ayub Khan's foreign minister in March 1959 and who later also became chairman of the Cabinet sub-committee which finally examined the 1962 Constitution, told Ayub Khan he did not subscribe to a system of government based on compromise and expediency — he did not see how political parties

could serve national interests, hence parliamentary system was not suited to the conditions in Pakistan.

Above all, the Constitution Commission, appointed by Ayub Khan under Justice Shahabuddin, in 1960, in its report said the alleged interference by heads of state in the working of government could not have been possible if the politicians had acted in a disciplined and united manner.

If at any time the president acted in violation of the constitution, the commission insisted, the politicians should be held responsible for the sins of the president.

The commission even endorsed Ghulam Muhammad's decision in dismissing the prime minister in April 1953, even though he enjoyed majority in the legislature on the ground that the governor-general not have acted without the support of the members of the party in power.

And the Governor, Amir Mohammad Khan, Nawab of Kalabagh, told Ayub Khan that as Pakistan was established in the name of Islam it could not have any other constitution but Islamic. Only an Islamic constitution can keep East and West Pakistan together, Nawab Kalabagh had said.

He also advocated the presidential system of government in Pakistan and was opposed to restricted franchise, as was proposed by Ayub Khan, as "it would give undue advantage to the residents of towns who are educated and more advanced than the rural population."

These and many more such disclosures are made by Altaf Gauhar, who was information secretary during Ayub Khan regime, in his 132-page chapter entitled, "The (1962) Constitution," which would form a part of his 3-volume history of 'Ayub era,' to which he is putting finishing touches, before publication.

Altaf Gauhar has based his history of Ayub era on the hitherto unpublished Ayub papers, his diaries and documents, which Ayub Khan had handed over to him during his lifetime.

"To break upon the people of Pakistan the idea of monarchy and to enlist their willing approval and spontaneous support," Rashdi had told Ayub Khan in his personal letter to him on the subject, he (Rashdi) must come to Pakistan (from the Philippines). "I had done so in the case of separation of Sind, in the case of Pakistan itself, and

more recently, in the case of One Unit, one similar venture would not matter," Rashdi wrote to Ayub Khan.

Ayub Khan should have, Rashdi had suggested, the authority to "nominate his heir, from among his own male children, or from outside in case he did not consider any of his own children fit to succeed him."

Ayub Khan, according to Gauhar, told Rashdi, "however good it (his monarchy scheme) may be, it will be out of place to think of reverting to it in today's life."

While Z.A. Bhutto was in favour of unitary government, Manzur Qadir was against parliamentary form of government, according to Gauhar.

"While Manzur Qadir," comments Altaf Gauhar, "strengthened Ayub Khan in his opinion, Bhutto encouraged in his tactics."

CSO: 4600/151

PAKISTAN CONSULATE IN BOMBAY SHUT DOWN

Karachi DAWN in English 18 Nov 83 p 24

[Text]

NEW DELHI, Nov 17: Pakistan's Consul-General in Bombay, Mr Sajjad Ali, has arrived in the Indian capital after shutting the doors of his temporary office. He will now work as counsellor at his country's embassy here.

Behind the transfer is a long-standing argument between the Pakistan and Indian Governments about the future of Jinnah House, the magnificent house in Bombay built by the Quaid-i-Azam.

Mr Sajjad Ali arrived in Bombay in August this year to resume operations after nearly 12 years. Mr Ali's only official duty has been to issue 3,000 visas to a group of pilgrims.

But, with the Indians making no effort to hand over possession of the house, Mr Ali has now been transferred to the embassy in Delhi.

Mr Ali said here on Tuesday that the consulate had not been closed, it had been merely 'suspended'.

He agrees the consulate could operate from other premises but says this would be too costly and, in any case, the re-opening is contingent on Jinnah House being available.

"If there is any house in the world that could be considered the birthplace of Pakistan, it is none other than Jinnah House", Mr Ali said.

He pointed out that many meetings of the Muslim League had taken place there and it was the venue of talks between Jinnah and Gandhi.

"Our national memories are associated with it. Pakistan is the only country for which it has any value".

The Indian Government has given no reason for failing to hand over the house. —PPI

CSO: 4600/151

FERTILIZER INSTITUTE PLANNED

Karachi DAWN in English 11 Nov 83 p 7

[Text]

ISLAMABAD, Nov 10: UN Development Programme (UNDP) will provide assistance worth 943,400 dollars for the establishment of a specialised fertilizer research and development institute at Faisalabad, under a project which has just been approved.

The Government of Pakistan will provide 2,031,641 dollars for this project.

Work on the project will start in January 1984 and will be completed in December 1987. UN Industrial Development Organisation (UNIDO) will be the executing agency of the project, while the National Fertilizer Corporation will be the Government implementing agency.

Out of the total UNDP aid of 943,400 dollars, equipment worth

485,000 dollars will be supplied and 84,400 dollars will be spent on training of Pakistani staff.

The purpose of the institute is, among other things, to test domestic and imported raw materials and propose ways and means of their economic use; suggest technological improvements and adopt advanced technologies for production of fertilizers to suit conditions and specific requirements in Pakistan; and provide technical advisory services to the existing fertilizer production units of NFC.

Out of nine fertilizer producing plants at present in operation in Pakistan, six are in public sector under the NFC management.—PPI

CSO: 4600/139

SIND GOVERNOR SAYS NO PARDON FOR THOSE HELD IN DISTURBANCES

Karachi DAWN in English 11 Nov 83 p 20

[Text]

Lt-Gen S M Abbasi, Governor of Sind, has ruled out the possibility of the release of political detenus who were involved in recent disturbances in Sind.

Restoration of Democracy (MRD) and submitted written apologies were being released.

In reply to a question, he said the law and order situation in Sind was normal.

Talking to newsmen informally at a KMC dinner at a local hotel last night, he said there was no question of any pardon or release of these prisoners, and added that they should account for their misdeeds.

He told a questioner the general election would be completed by March 1985, and added that arrangements to hold 'free and fair' elections were under way.

However, the Governor said those who had announced their disassociation with the Movement for

Repeating to another question, the Governor said the issue of expansion of the Sind Cabinet was under consideration.

CSO: 4600/139

LOAN TO BE GRANTED FOR GUDDU THERMAL POWER PROJECT

Karachi DAWN in English 11 Nov 83 p 20

[Text]

LAHORE, Nov 10: The Asian Development Bank has agreed to provide a new loan of 140 million dollars for the extension of the Guddu thermal power station.

This was disclosed on Thursday by Mr. Masao Fujika, President of the Asian Bank, on arrival here on the last-leg of his five-day visit to Pakistan.

Mr Fujika said an agreement regarding the new loan for the Guddu project was expected to be signed before the end of the current calendar year. Altogether the Asian Bank would provide Pakistan credits worth 320 million dollars during the current financial year.

He said Pakistan had emerged as the second largest borrower from the bank after Indonesia. Already a credit worth 1.5 billion dollars had been provided to Pakistan for 58 development projects.

Mr Fujika said the credit worthiness of Pakistan had substantially increased because of the sound economic progress during the past few years.

He said he had found overall economic situation in Pakistan much more sound than what he had imagined. This, he added, was all the more creditable because of the current inflationary trends all over the world.

Mr Fujika expressed great admiration for the Tarbela Dam project and said he was impressed by the very vastness of the dam and its auxiliary projects. He was happy that the Asian Bank was providing help for the completion of the Tarbela power house.

He said there was scope of further improvement in this project and the Asian Bank would definitely consider any request for further credits in this connection.

He said he was briefed about the priorities of the Sixth Plan by the Federal Minister for Planning, Dr Mahbubul Haq. He was happy to note that Pakistan was concentrating on the development of agriculture and its social structure. He said sector-wise the Asian Bank had so far provided largest aid for the development of agriculture.

Mr Masao Fujika and members of his delegation, who flew into the provincial metropolis by a special plane, were received among others by the Punjab Finance Minister, Mr. Mohammad Nawaz Sharif, Dr S.M.H. Bokhari, Member (Water), WAPDA, and senior government officials.

They also visited the Badshahi Mosque, Lahore Fort and the museum.

Later in the evening, the delegation left for New Delhi. —APP

INDIFFERENCE TO INVESTMENT IN PRIVATE SECTOR ANALYZED

Karachi DAWN in English 13 Nov 83 Business Supplement pp I, IV

[Article by M. Ziauddin]

[Text] DURING the current financial year and the next no new major investment initiatives are expected from the private sector, say informed circles in the capital.

The most that is expected by these circles during this period is some activity with regard to implementation of the Rs 22 billion worth of sanctions processed in the fifth Plan period but which remained on paper only for various reasons.

These circles expect the private sector to be greatly influenced in its investment attitude in the coming years by the trends in the implementation process of these already sanctioned investments.

They are not, however, very hopeful of any significant development on this front in the immediate future because according to them two factors that hampered the implementation of the Rs 22 billion worth of sanctions during the fifth Plan period — shortage of infrastructural facilities and paucity of institutional credits — still continue to agitate the investment climate.

They expect the rate of private sector investment to go below the annual average achieved during the fifth Plan period since shortages in power, water, communication, transport and building material would increase during the next 24 months as per official projections before declining to reasonable levels by 1986-87.

Two factors

In the circumstances obtaining currently, the hope of increased assistance from financial institutions for the private sector also seems to be receding, according to financial experts.

Socio-economic scientists mention two more factors within their opinion which would affect future private investment trends.

The first, as they put it, concerns labour in their opinion the private sector is convinced that the existing extraordinary laws which are keeping the labour under "check" would not last for ever. It is worried at the prospect of finding, right at the time of commissioning of its new units, in case it happens to make investments now, that the existing extraordinary laws have been replaced by normal labour laws which would not favour any one party.

The second factor relates to developments on fronts other than economic but having close relationship with economic concepts. As these scientists put it, the private sector finds a wide gap between the declared intentions of the government to promote free enterprise and the actual practice. It still seems very wary about any change in the economic status quo fearing that the change would wipe out even the little gains made by it in the last six years. The current state of flux on non-economic fronts has not helped the matters anyway.

In view of the above factors — shortage of infrastructural

facilities, paucity of institutional credits, labour laws and the state of flux on non-economic fronts — the private sector, according to these socio-economic scientists, is likely to respond indifferently to the much heralded but still to be announced investment schedule.

Investment schedule

The proposed investment schedule is likely to invite the private sector to invest in

- 1) Basic metals and other engineering goods industries (Rs 10,870 million).
- 2) Agro, small and rural industries (Rs 13,400 million)
- 3) Textiles (Rs 12,790 million)
- 4) Petrochemicals (Rs 5,260 million)
- 5) Non-metallic mineral products (Rs 4,290 million)
- 6) Fertilisers (Rs 4,100 million)
- 7) Chemicals and pharmaceuticals (Rs 5,285 million), and
- 8) Rubber products and other miscellaneous industries (Rs 6,005 million).

It is also likely that sanctioning procedures for these investments would be greatly simplified. Independent economic experts believe, however, that most of these simplifications would be geared to attracting investments in the backward areas where the other costs of putting up industries and operating them could nullify the advantages of simplification and thereby fail to move the private sector in any significant way.

In the opinion of these economists the investment situation in the proposed downstream industries of Pakistan Steel would be more disturbing. Even if the government succeeded in providing the required infrastructural facilities, institutional credits and technological assistance, the private sector would come forward only if it was guaranteed that the entire production of its factories was lifted by the public sector consumers of these products and that too at an exaggerated margin of profit irrespective of their quality.

Since this would not be practicable and could, in fact, prove economically suicidal, things on this front are expected to remain static.

Independent economists are also not very hopeful of seeing private sector oriented commercial and fiscal policies in the near future. They do not expect more than some cosmetic concessions in tariff structure, interest rates, rebate system, corporate tax structure and credit facilities in the wake of an announcement of the investment schedule.

Explaining their contention, they said, in the coming years the government would be requiring colossal amounts of money for financing its infrastructure projects. Since the bulk of income of the government comes from export-import tariffs and taxes, it would be simply impossible for the government, which is already groaning under the escalating non-

development expenditure, to willingly accept reduced revenues from these avenues.

Fiscal policy

They, however, point out that if the government were to tighten its belt for a change and design its commercial and fiscal policy to promote private sector investment, the expanding economic activity could, within a short time, yield more than adequate revenues for financing non-development expenditures to the levels desired by the instruments of government.

They, however, believe that such a creative policy would hardly have any appeal for those who want to eat the cake and have it too.

Economic experts predict that by 1985-86 the real position relating to private sector investment trends would emerge which, as they put it might not be as happy as expected. By that time, however, much water would have flown under the bridges making it genuinely impossible to achieve even by 1987-88 the targets achieved in the Fifth Plan period.

Things would not have deteriorated to such an extent, they said, if during the fifth Plan period the planners had made sincere efforts to improve the country's energy situation at least by developing in time the already explored sources such as Pirkoh gas fields, Dhodak oil fields, Khashkhali oil fields discovered as early as 1976

and various other gas fields identified in mid-70s.

Chashma neglected

In their opinion the magnitude of the crisis could have been reduced to a large extent if the government had gone ahead with its nuclear power programme at Chashma. They said the Chashma project had already progressed to the point of construction of civil structures much before the fifth Plan was launched. But all through the Fifth Plan period, for inexplicable reasons, the project was neglected or ignored.

They said, if the energy programme had been pursued vigorously in the last six years, its costs would have been much less than what it would cost now to achieve the same level of capability.

These economists said that most of the money made available for the energy sector during the last six years was wasted on exploring wild cat wells and putting up additional capacity at the northern refinery which has been found in final reckoning to be totally unnecessary.

They felt the planners were forcing the nation in a corner energywise. In their opinion, there was no way to regain what has been lost for the coming half a century. They demanded an independent enquiry for finding out the causes of the colossal failure and those responsible for it so that people could sift facts from fiction in the promises being made now.

'POVERTY LINE' CONCEPT DISCUSSED IN PAKISTAN

Karachi DAWN in English 13 Nov 83 Business Supplement p III

[Article: "The Need Is To Improve the Quality of Life"]

[Text] **THE LATEST** in the economic jargon is the term 'poverty line.' Some are above it and others below. But what is a poverty line? Where it should be drawn?

There is apparently no definition of the poverty line. According to a 1981 study of the United Nations Research Institute for Social Development, "the poverty line in the United States is between 10 and 17 times higher than that in India."

Moreover, says the study, "empirical data show that with quite reasonable variations in the concept (of poverty line), the amount of poverty in one country can be made to vary from 26 to 85 per cent for the same year."

The study suggests that statisticians need not use poverty line as it is of little use as a statistical measurement. The use of income as the sole criterion in defining poverty would be inappropriate.

Poverty in conditions of developing countries should be associated with adequacy of food availability, clear water supply, health and education facilities, etc. In the past, poverty has been defined in terms of what a household needs to survive.

Minimum income

The minimum income required by a household to purchase the barest minimum goods and services at given costs. The houses with incomes above this level are

said to be above the poverty line and others below it.

The minimum goods and services are here taken to represent minimum necessary level of food, essential clothing, shelter (rent), fuel and other essential household sundries. This obviously leaves out health care and medical aid, railway or bus travel, education, newspapers, entertainment, postage, marriage expenses, birth and death expenses and scope for savings for even a rainy day.

Austerity standard

This also leaves out provision for pretty clothes for women, pocket money for children, any spending on festivals, food supplements e.g. fruit etc. Such a standard of austerity is clearly unthinkable, though it may prevail for many under compulsions of the obtaining situations.

The primary poverty line defined above was, therefore, bettered in mid-1930s and a "secondary poverty line" was drawn which defined poverty as "relating to families that had sufficient income to raise themselves above primary poverty line but because of less than optimal income were in want e.g. because of sickness or lack of regular employment opportunities."

The inadequacy of 'poverty line' as a measure of poverty is made apparent when one observes that in a developed country like USA, family income spent on food is only one-third of the household budget, leaving two-thirds for expenditure

on other items of the family budget, while in a less developed economy almost three-fourth of the income is spent on food items.

In United States

In USA, the poverty line was put around 1970 at about \$ 1000 per capita as against \$ 62 in India thus if it is said that in USA one-fifth of the population was below the poverty line, what should one say about almost the entire South-Asia and Africa.

In Pakistan, experts have tried their hand in laying down the poverty line for the country. In an article on "Mass poverty in Pakistan: Some preliminary findings" published in Pakistan Development Review in 1973, poverty line is defined in terms of income needed to purchase a certain minimum number of calories.

According to this study the minimum daily requirement is of 2,100 calories. But in 1963-64 over 80 per cent of the population in Pakistan was below this level of caloric intake. In 1975, on the basis of caloric intake criterion, 43 per cent of population was estimated below the poverty line.

Time trends

In late seventies, in the rural sector, if poverty line was drawn around an income of Rs. 350, the population falling below the poverty line was 60 per cent but around an income level of Rs. 300, it was 29 per cent only.

The choice of poverty line also gives different time-trends relating to whether the extent of poverty is increasing or decreasing (over the years).

For instance, if poverty line was drawn around an income of Rs. 225, the rural population below poverty line was found to have declined from 26 per cent in 1963-64 to a negligible level in 1971-72; but if the line was drawn around an income of Rs. 350, the rural population percentage below the line fell only slightly from 83 in 1963-64 to 73 per cent in 1969-70 and rose again to 87 per cent in 1971-72.

Similarly, different results emerge if poverty line is drawn on the basis of individuals or households. It has been estimated that in Pakistan, the percentage of population below the poverty line is higher if it is based on households

than individuals since the increase in household size tends to outstrip the rise in household income.

For policy purposes, therefore, the concept of poverty line fails to serve as a useful indicator. This is also brought out by the trend measured in terms of change in absolute numbers and the change in percentage terms.

Exploded myth

If the poverty line is drawn at Rs. 400 income (in terms of constant prices of 1959-60), then, according to a PIDE study by Allauddin, the percentage of population below the line fell from 77 in 1963-64 to 69 in 1971-72 but the absolute number of urban population below the poverty line rose from 9.2 million to 12 million over the same period.

The concept of "poverty line" should, therefore, be considered an exploded myth and energies should no more be wasted on the exploration of "poverty lines" in an economy.

Instead, effort should be directed towards increasing the quality of life. For instance, it should be ensured that there is enough food to feed a family throughout the year and adequate shelter and clothing are provided to its people by the economy.

The aim of policy for planning should be that living conditions improve for each dwelling in the country through better supply of wholesome food, clean drinking water, electricity, health and sanitary facilities, education, housing, postage facilities, railway and road transport, etc.—BIH.

CSO: 4600/142

LABOR MINISTER ON UTILIZATION OF MANPOWER

Karachi DAWN in English 14 Nov 83 p 4

[Text] Islamabad, Nov 13: The Federal Minister for Labour and Manpower, Mr Ghulam Dastgir Khan, has said that the Manpower Division has prepared a comprehensive Five-Year Plan to make the best utilization of the manpower in the country.

He was inaugurating a three-week in-service training course on "manpower and employment" at the Pakistan Manpower Institute here on Saturday.

The Minister said that this Five-Year Plan was in harmony with the efforts of the Planning Division to sustain the pace of development in the next five years.

He said during the plan period the total population of the country will increase to 101.76 million from 89.33 million and the rate of population growth will come down to 2.57 per cent from 3 per cent.

The labour force in the country will rise to 31.35 million from 27.64 million, the rate of increase in the labour force will be 3.32 per cent, the rate of unemployment will decrease to 3.19 per cent from 3.55 per cent and 3.32 million people will be provided jobs during the plan period, the Minister said.

Mr Ghulam Dastgir Khan said the Manpower Division was making strenuous efforts to fulfil the basic requirements of the preparation of planning for manpower. Pakistan Manpower Institute can play an effective and positive role in this connection, he added.

The Minister said that the research institutes like the Pakistan Manpower Institute are of great importance in the development of the country and the Manpower Institute will play a significant role in this regard.

He informed that a handsome amount had been allocated in the Sixth Five-Year Plan to provide the facilities of roads, water, electricity and education to the people in the rural areas.

He said that efforts should be made to increase the resources of the country so that the overseas Pakistanis could also earn their livelihood in their own country respectfully.

The Federal Secretary for Manpower and Labour, Mr M. A. Kazmi, said that such training courses were very helpful for participants and enable them to work properly in their respective fields.

He said that the heads of the institutes and other departments should encourage the workers to benefit from such courses which help improve their performance.

Earlier, the Director of the Institute, Brig. (Retd) Mohammad Ayub, presented the welcome address and said that about 30 officers would participate in this course and lectures on population, employment, labour force, developmental strategy would be delivered.--APP.

CSO: 4600/142

NATIONAL HIGHWAY PLAN UNDER STUDY

Karachi DAWN in English 14 Nov 83 p 4

[Text] Lahore, Nov 13: The Federal Communications Minister, Mr. Mohyuddin Baluch, has said that a plan for the construction of a national highway from Nowshera to Karachi via Khuzdar is under the consideration of the Planning Commission. It will cost about Rs. 8,000 million with the collaboration of the private sector.

Talking to newsmen at Pattoki rest-house on Saturday, he said the scheme would go to the Ministry of Finance and Cabinet for approval.

Mr Baluch said the Government would provide about Rs 200 million while the rest of the amount would be spent by the private sector, and hoped that the project would be completed within six years after getting approval of the Government.

He said the new highway would help in economic uplift of the people and provide better communication link between the provincial capitals as also with neighbouring countries.

Replying to a question, the Minister said that about 7,000 kilometre roads existed at present and another 1,700 kilometres would be constructed during the Sixth Five-Year Plan.

He said that Lahore-Sahiwal, Khairabad-Nowshehra, Peshawar-Charsadda and Kot Diji-Rohri roads were being constructed under the Third Highway Project with the World Bank's assistance.

The Minister and Pakistani engineers were building, for the first time, four new bridges on the River Sind for road traffic, one each at Dadu, Moro, Ghazi Ghat, Darya Khan and Khairabad.--PPI.

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COMMENTARY ON KAUSAR NIAZI'S FORMULA, OTHER TOPICS

Karachi DAWN in English 14 Nov 83 p 9

[Article by M. A. Mansuri: "Formulae of Kausar Niazi and Islam Khattak; Shoorah's Agenda"]

[Text] It is difficult to spell out what was lacking in the atmosphere when we celebrated Allama Iqbal's 106th birth anniversary last week. His famous line: "Ek hon Muslim Haram ki Pasbani Ke Leye", sung enthusiastically at various colourful functions, and lectures given on his philosophy of "Khudi", looked somewhat out of tune in this atmosphere.

Newspapers which published special supplements on Allama Iqbal also carried reports the same day of bloody in-fights between factions of the PLO in Lebanon. On the internal situation, there were headlines such as: "Man-handling of women, by police deplored: Concern at lawyers' detention: Doctors' hunger-strike: Bus looted on highway: University professors sentenced".

After the Gharib Awam Party's meeting with the President--Seventh in the series to sort out issues in the context of the plan for the restoration of democracy, there was no news about the next step. The President was away for many days in the Northern Areas, where he also invited 45 ambassadors and their wives for a two-day visit. The ambassadors and their families came back visibly inspired--and with gifts.

Anyhow, greater popular interest was aroused by unpublished reports about the "alternatives" to the August 12 plan, which were said to have been discussed by Lt-Gen K. M. Arif with Air Marshal (Rtd) Asghar Khan and Nawabzada Nasrullah Khan, both in detention, earlier this month.

Sardar Abdul Qaiyum Khan was invited to the Islamabad Press Club and questioned about his formula for peaceful transfer of power, which he had released at a Press conference earlier this month. He failed to remove the impression that his formula was not the result of his solo effort, though he vehemently protested when one newsman named one of the high-ups and alleged that Sardar Sahab was being used by him to cater to certain interests.

An almost similar formula was floated last week by Maulana Kausar Niazi, urging all political parties to take a realistic view of the national crisis

and, as a way out, commit themselves to an unopposed election of Gen. Mohammad Zia-ul-Haq as President for a five-year term. Maulana Kausar Niazi had led one of the delegations which have so far been invited by the President for discussion on his August 12 plan.

Another idea has been floated by Mr. Aslam Khattak, at present a member of the Majlis-i-Shoora, and a former Governor of the MWFP during the PPP days, who was also running the Coca Cola business in Islamabad and Peshawar. His proposal envisaged that a new party be created and all members of the Majlis-i-Shoora be brought under its banner. This party, he was impliedly suggested, will struggle to sort out the odds that may have to be encountered in the process of transfer of power, and, then, carry on the programme which is said to have been launched by the present Government for national reconstruction.

He did not emphasise the need to ensure "continuity" after the proposed transfer of power, which had been underlined recently at the highest level. But apparently this is the basic idea behind his proposal. Sardar Qaiyum was more specific in this context when he released his formula at a Press conference. He appeared confident that his formula will receive the support of all those who matter in the present situation. He thought that now he only had to convince the relevant political sections in this regard.

Citizens Congress

The latest development in the political field was the formation, last week, of the "All Pakistan Citizens Congress" with old-timer Lt-Gen Azam Khan as its first President. Mr. Shakir, organiser of the All Pakistan Citizens Convention which provided the forum for the formation of the "Congress", has the reputation of being close to relevant quarters. He was quite often been engaged to serve as Islamabad's leader-man at various civic receptions held in honour of visiting dignitaries from abroad. [as published] The newly formed congress includes about a dozen members of the Majlis-i-Shoora. Among its professed aims is the establishment of an economic, political and social order based on eternal Islamic principles of morality and ethics. How it will proceed to tackle the job has yet to be seen. In the present atmosphere, doubts expressed in some circles about its links, cannot be easily dismissed.

Some political figures were also trying to solicit support from some of the friendly countries whose concern about political stability in Pakistan is said to be growing. One of them, claiming to have contacts with one of the Arab countries conventionally close to Pakistan, was confident that with its friendly support he will be able to hammer out an acceptable formula for peaceful transfer of power. Diplomats of this country were believed to be actively trying to convince certain political sections in the country about the utility of partyless elections, at least for once.

The Majlis-i-Shoora, which was directed last month by the President to revise its earlier recommendation that the next general elections in the country be held on party basis, is not likely to take up the issue during its current session. A number of its senior members were of the opinion

that even for this nominated Shoora it would not be easy to reverse its earlier recommendations, because of the prevailing political climate in the country. However, according to its Chairman, Khawaja Mohammad Safdar, the Majlis could not discuss any issue outside its agenda, and so far this issue had not been included in its agenda for the current session.

Does it mean that the proposal for partyless elections is also being revised, or has some subsequent idea made this proposal outdated? Sardar Abdul Qaiyum's formula had envisaged that President Zia-ul-Haq should continue as President, giving up his office as Chief of the Army Staff, and, with the help of a chief executive to be appointed by himself, should proceed to hold elections on party basis. But this arrangement envisages an agreement with the MRD and other political groups that they would do nothing to disturb "continuity" or call for "revenge" proceedings against anyone, collectively or individually. The only alternative to this formula, Sardar Qaiyum was convinced, was that the President should join one of the existing political parties or form a party of his own.

We have no means to check up whether Sardar Qaiyum's formula, and the suggestions floated by Maulana Kausar Niazi and Mr Aslam Khattak are the result of any central thinking, or they represent separate links within the corridors of power. [as published] However, all of them have one central theme, and that is their stress on "continuity". Formation of the "Citizens congress" and renewed contacts between Pir Saheb Pagaro and leaders of the Jamat-i-Islami are also believed in some quarters to be linked with search for measures which could ensure continuity.

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POLITICAL CRISIS SURVEYED; COUNTRY SAID 'ON THE BRINK'

East Burnham ARABIA: The Islamic World Review in English Nov 83 p 18

[Text]

For three nights in succession last month flocks of ravens crowed, according to a traditional Pakistani old-wives' tale this means that the present ruler of the country will die or be overthrown. There are, however, more concrete signs of impending political crisis in Pakistan.

In Rawalpindi, small armed groups of policemen line the famous Murea Road; at night, these patrols are increased and extended to the Mohallas. For the last three days, while there has been no mention in the media of the disturbances in Sind and other parts of the country, television broadcasts have in one way or another tried to defuse the situation.

Khawaja Mohd Safdar, chairman of the Majlis-e-Shura, appeared in one programme and, probably to the dismay of the present regime, stumbled and stammered through a monologue in which he called for unity among the Muslims of Pakistan. The main butt of his monologue was directed against the MRD, and he tried to capitalise on their use of force and terror.

Dr Begum Amina Ashraf, leading lady of the Majlis-e-Shura, also appeared on television; leaning on the popular sentiments of Muslim nationalism which brought Pakistan into existence, she defended the president's speech of August 14 and assured the public of its integrity. Added to these, there have been regular programmes on "The pace of development in Sind."

The disturbances in Sind, Baluchistan and parts of the Punjab have caused widespread apprehension of what lies ahead. While the public may not be entirely convinced that the MRD will succeed in overthrowing the Zia regime, they are fearful of the crises which may ensue. Through the BBC World Service they have learned of the explosions in

Lahore and the rioting in Hyderabad and Surkur.

News of the Wali Khan's planned return to Pakistan is everywhere, and there are rumours that the exiled leaders of the PPP, such as Mustafa Kharr, are also secretly trying to enter the country. It is thought that Kharr's presence may be enough to intensify the MRD's present campaign in Punjab.

Amid all this unrest, the preparations for the local council elections were continuing. Despite calls for a boycott from some quarters, the campaigning is not as low-key as one might expect. Unsurprisingly, this is mainly due to the fact that although the political parties are in theory banned from participation, in reality they orchestrate the campaigning.

The government is only too aware of this: candidates suspected of belonging to the PPP have had their papers rejected. This has not, however, necessarily removed the PPP from the scene. Many of the other parties and independent candidates understand the considerable grass roots support the PPP can muster, and alliances have thus been forged between the PPP and "acceptable" candidates. In areas where there is a Jamaat-e-Islami candidate, the PPP has thrown its support behind the Muslim League candidate.

Support for the Islamic parties seems to be at an all-time low. Manoeuvred, in the public mind, into a pro-government camp as a result of their own realpolitik, they are busy trying to shed those shackles which now bind them. Thus the Jamaat-Ulema-e-Pakistan has launched its own movement for democracy and civil rule, while the Jamaat-e-Islami has recognised the holding of a free election is a popular national demand, and has called upon the government to hold elections as soon as March 1984.

BRIEFS

LEADER ON MRD ARRESTS--Hyderabad, Nov 13: The Convener, MRD, Sind, Maulana Shah Mohammad Amroti, while talking to Pressmen here on Sunday, said that notwithstanding all conspiracies being hatched by the enemies of Pakistan, nobody could harm Pakistan and it would survive till the Dooms-Day (Qiyamat). He said that the present movement of MRD had spread throughout Punjab province and people were courting arrests daily at 17 big and small towns of the province. He said as many as 25,000 persons, men and women, had been arrested so far in connection with MRD's campaign. Maulana Amroti disclosed that the people of Pakistan would hear a good news with the advent of the new year 1984. He demanded judicial inquiries into jail incidents at Larkana, Sukkur and Hyderabad. Maulana Amroti, who was accompanied by the Additional Secretary-General, MRD, Mr Iqbal Hyder, alleged that Mr G. M. Syed was an agent of the Government who with the help of USA was trying to establish, "Sindhu Desh." [Text] [Karachi DAWN in English 14 Nov 83 p 6]

GWADAR PORT DEVELOPMENT--The federal minister of transportation, addressing the Majilis-e Shoora, noted that one important aspect of the sixth 5-year plan is to build a port at Swadar. This is a welcome step because it will alleviate the grievances of Baluchis who considered it unjust that Baluchistan does not have a seaport. Whenever a proposal to build a new seaport was mentioned during the earlier regime, it was emphasized that the new port should be safer than Karachi from the military point of view. In this respect, several sites in Baluchistan, especially Mara, Pisni and Gwadar, were mentioned. Gwadar got special mention even during the earlier regimes. Though it was just a rumor at that time, the present federal government has selected Gwadar for a new seaport that will be safer than Karachi. The requirement of a fertile hinterland for a seaport is considered an anachronism now. It has been provided that a convenient seaport pays its own way in the country's economy. Thus, the decision to build a port at Gdawar is commendable because it will also fulfill the long-standing demand of Baluchis for a seaport. [Editorial] [Text] [Karachi JANG in Urdu 31 Oct 83 p 3] 7997

FOOD, FUEL PRICES RISE--Thatta, Nov 10: Prices of certain articles of food and fuel have registered unusual increase these days in this area adversely affecting the economy of the people. Onions are selling here from Rs 6 to 8 per kilogram reportedly due to the shortage caused by excessive exports. It is reported that traders have been clandestinely exporting onions in larger quantities than allowed by their permits. Potatoes are selling here at Rs 5 per kg, while cattle fodder, articles like bran and cottonseed oil-cake are selling at Rs 80 and Rs 128 per maund, respectively, constituting an increase of 33 percent increase in prices in less than a month. Onions constitute the poor man's meal and sauce in this area. The midday meal of many labourers and peasants working in the fields consists of a loaf of bread and a bulb of onion. [Text] [Karachi DAWN in English 11 Nov 83 p 7]

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